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THE RAJA OF SARAWAK.

AN ACCOUNT OF SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B., LL.D.,
GIVEN CHIEFLY THROUGH LETTERS
AND JOURNALS.

By GERTRUDE L. JACOB.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

25783 d

WITH PORTRAIT AND MAPS.

London:
MACMILLAN AND CO.
1876.

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PREFACE

BY

M.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE LE GRAND JACOB,

K.C.S.I., C.B.

TOWARDS the close of 1853, driven from India to rest from labour and recover from fever, I found myself at Singapore, a central position for travel over the Eastern world. Party spirit on the subject of Sir James Brooke was here raging. The editor of a local paper styled him a pirate, a wholesale murderer, an assassin, etc., and had succeeded in raising personal ill-feeling by publishing extracts from private letters that had by some means fallen into his hands.

Having letters of credit on the house of A. L. Johnstone and Co., I became acquainted with their senior partner, W. H. Read, Esq.,* who, seeing I was bent on travel, challenged me to accompany him to Borneo, there to introduce me to his friend Sir James Brooke; a proposal that I declined on finding it entailed the necessity of becoming the Raja's guest;

* Now a member of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements, and Consul-General at Singapore for the Government of the Netherlands.

and not wishing to be on such friendly terms with a man charged with crime.

Mr. Read assured me that these charges were without foundation, got up by persons bent on injuring Sir James Brooke, and that I had only to study the subject to be convinced of this. My curiosity was excited, and, as the dry food of Blue-books and official papers had long been my pabulum, I availed myself of all the assistance procurable, endeavouring to ascertain what real fire there might be under so much smoke. I could, however, find none—nothing, that is, affecting character, and I was led to believe that there must be hidden springs moving hostile hands.

Having so far satisfied myself, I accepted an invitation from the Raja, received through Mr. Read, and we crossed the China Sea together. On reaching Kuching, the capital of Saráwak, and being introduced to Sir James, I began the conversation by saying that, having studied his history as far as my means permitted, I believed him to have been maligned, but feeling doubt on some points, I should like, if he had no objection, to ask several questions of which, while reading the papers on his case, I had made note.

Sir James replied that I could not grapple too closely with him—that few things would please him more than to be searchingly questioned. On this I drew the paper from my pocket, and went *seriatim* through the list. His answers on every point were conclusively satisfactory; so that I had then no scruple in enjoying his hospitality, and cultivating his acquaintance.

We accompanied him to his mountain retreat—such a hill to climb! I, who am an old ibex hunter, weakened I admit by illness, found it a hard matter to reach the summit —perpendicular and slippery rocks, tree trunks for ladders, small notches at long intervals for rungs—all around a tangled mass, the wild confusion of nature in a tropical and rainy climate. After reaching the Raja's cottage it was interesting to see the Dyaks hurrying in to pay homage with genuine devotion, bringing fruit and other offerings. Piles of dorians scented the air.

During my stay in Borneo I observed that the Raja was regarded by these people as almost a superhuman being sent for their deliverance from the oppression of their fellow-men, while the Malays looked up to him as to a great chief fit to rule and guide them.

The secret of his power will be found in this book. The acquaintance I then made with him ripened into friendship, and I am glad that my niece has recorded the history of his life. It furnishes a lesson in the government of Eastern peoples, which those who have to deal with them would do well to study; it shows with what facility a false cry may be raised, and, in the name of humanity, how humanity may suffer.

G. L. Jacob.

12, Queensborough Terrace, London, W.,
July, 1876.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

A NARRATIVE entitled "The English Raja," drawn up by me for the *Monthly Packet* magazine of 1873-4, attracted the attention of some of the oldest friends of Sir James Brooke, from one of whom especially—the late Mr. John C. Templer—I received the warmest acknowledgment of my labour. Failing health, following on a life fully occupied as a barrister and Master of the Court of Exchequer, had, he said, put it out of his power to fulfil a long-cherished intention of compiling the Raja's biography. He was then (February, 1874) seriously ill, and a few months later passed away; not, however, until he had seen the whole of my work, and revised the MS. of the closing chapters with his own hand. That it would be republished was his dying hope; and his widow selected from among his papers and forwarded to me whatever could throw additional light on Sir James Brooke's character and history.

The Raja Charles Brooke, nephew and successor in Sarawak to Sir James, expressed at the same time his earnest desire that I would enlarge and republish the story; and the

idea received the encouragement of Sir Thomas Fairbairn, Bart., one of the trustees of the will of Sir James Brooke, and of Mr. Spenser St. John, to whose care as executor the Raja bequeathed his papers, and who has stated his intention of writing the life of his old chief.

It soon, however, became evident that no mere expansion of my narrative would do justice to the new material offered, and that the whole ought to be re-cast. A task so responsible was not lightly to be undertaken, and the hesitation that I felt only gradually gave way before the judgment of others, joined to my own growing conviction that it would be right at least to make the attempt.

In thus doing I have received the greatest and most constant help from the advice and criticism of my uncle, M.-General Le Grand Jacob, of Mr. W. H. Read, and of Mr. C. Kegan Paul, while to Sir Thomas Fairbairn the closing chapters of my work owe much of their fulness. I gratefully acknowledge the cordial assistance and encouragement given me by these and by others; but it is only due to them to say that the responsibility of the use made of the materials intrusted to me rests on myself.

To Mr. Arthur C. Crookshank, for thirty years connected with the administration of Saráwak, I owe much valuable information and assistance.

To the Rev. Augustus Jessopp, D.D., Head Master of King Edward VI.'s School at Norwich, where Raja Brooke is proudly remembered, I am indebted for whatever help it lay in his power to give.

I desire also to thank Admiral the Hon. Sir Henry Keppel, the Rev. A. Horsburgh, the Rev. George Cox, Captain J. T. Newall, Mr. R. N. Bacon, Mr. C. Penty (for some years in the Raja's service in Saráwak), and my kind and forbearing publisher, Mr. Macmillan, together with many others, men and women, from whom I have received unfailing sympathy, and, wherever possible, active help.

I am greatly obliged to Mr. Bolton for the care with which he has fashioned into a Map of Saráwak the rough materials placed in his hands, and to Mr. Arthur C. Crookshank and Mr. Alfred Everett, Resident of Bintulu, for revising his work.

The chief authorities for the Life are—

I. The Letters and Journals of Sir James Brooke. Of the Letters, those addressed to Mr. Templer, and a few others dating from 1838 to 1853, were for the most part published in 1854. The Journals, written from 1839 to 1846, were published in part by Admiral Keppel in 1847, and in part by Admiral Sir G. Rodney Mundy in 1848.

II. The Blue-book (Borneo) containing the "Reports of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into matters connected with the position of Sir J. Brooke" (1855); with other papers, and Hansard's Reports of Debates in Parliament. An account of the Inquiry, compiled chiefly from the *Free Press* of Singapore, and published there at the time, has also been consulted for chapter xxiii.

I have aimed at making the book as far as possible the

Raja's autobiography. I have not attempted a general summary of his character or an estimate of the importance of his work. My readers will doubtless take this task upon themselves.

GERTRUDE L. JACOB.

June 17, 1876.

THE
EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO
BAY OF BENGAL
INDIAN OCEAN
SIAM
Gulf of Siam
CHINA SEA
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
BORNEO
CELEBES SEA
JAVA SEA
MOLUCCAS OR SPICE ISLANDS
DUTCH POSSESSIONS
Sulu Archipelago
Andaman Is.
Nicobar Is.
Equator
AUSTRALIA
London: Macmillan & Co.

THE RAJA OF SARÁWAK.

CHAPTER I.

1803—1830.

JAMES BROOKE was the second son and fifth child of Mr. Thomas Brooke, of the H.E.I. Company's Bengal Civil Service, and of Anna Maria, his wife. He was born on April 29, 1803, at Secrole, the European suburb of Benares, now known as Secrore.

The other children of Mr. and Mrs. Brooke were—Henry, who entered the Company's army, and died unmarried in early manhood; and four daughters, Harriet, Emma, Anna, and Margaret, of whom Emma married the Rev. F. C. Johnson, Vicar of White Lackington, Somersetshire; and Margaret married the Rev. Anthony Savage. All are now dead.

Mr. Thomas Brooke was seventh in descent from a Sir Thomas Vyner, who, as Lord Mayor of London in 1654, entertained Oliver Cromwell in the Guildhall; his only son, Sir Robert Vyner, pursued an opposite course—sacrificed some wealth for the Royal cause, and, being also in turn Lord Mayor, entertained King Charles II. in 1670.

On the death without issue of Sir Robert's only son George, the baronetcy became extinct, and the family estate of Eastbury, in Essex, reverted to the two daughters of Sir Thomas Vyner, from one of whom, named Edith, the Brooke line of descent is derived.

Edith's great-great-grand-daughter, Elizabeth Collet, married a Captain Robert Brooke (son of a Robert Brooke, of Goodmansfields, London), and Mr. Thomas Brooke, born in 1761, was their grandson.

To Mrs. Littlehales, an early playmate of James Brooke, and to her nephew, Mr. C. Kegan Paul, we owe much of the light that can be thrown on his boyhood and its surroundings.

His father is thus described by her:—

"Mr. Thomas Brooke was a tall and stately person, who liked everything handsome and good about him, with much of the old-fashioned Sir Charles Grandison manner. His complexion was dark, and he had fine dark eyes. He was not really clever, but was well read, and a good talker. He was a person to whom his friends were greatly attached, and I grew to be fond of him; but he teased me when I was a child, and I was obliged to kiss him, which I did not like."

As corroborative evidence of this attachment of friends, Mr. Kegan Paul gives an extract from the will of his grand-uncle, Charles Kegan, Esq., dated August 25, 1833. "I give and bequeath to my dear friend Thomas Brooke, now of Widcombe Crescent, near Bath, £100; his noble nature is above all pecuniary excitement, but he will be pleased that in this solemn moment of my life I remembered our long and uninterrupted friendship, and the many kindnesses I have received at his hands."

Mr. Paul adds, that Mr. Brooke declined to receive the money, but that he was naturally gratified at the proof of affection shown.

Mrs. Brooke was of Scotch parentage. On the break up, through death, of her early home in Scotland, she was sent out to India to her second brother, James Stuart, then a Bengal civilian, and subsequently a Member of Council; and while with him became acquainted with and married Mr. Thomas Brooke. This is her portrait by Mrs. Littlehales:—

"Mrs. Brooke was a very shy and retiring woman, not handsome or even pretty, to my mind, for her mouth was

rather screwed-up and a little underhung, but her complexion was perfectly lovely, and she had soft blue eyes and delicate features. Her brothers James and Charles Stuart were good-looking, and all had delicately fair complexions, like the inside of a bivalve shell. Mrs. Brooke was a woman who, as the fashion was in those days, dressed much older for her age than people do now, but she always seemed to have on the best and most proper thing. She dressed simply, but in rich silks and beautiful lace; I mean the Chantilly lace, which you never see now. She wore beautiful jewels, and dressed in soft, subdued colours. I never saw her in anything gay or startling. She was like her style of dress, and a very sweet, lovable person: one who never raised her voice, nor should I think she ever uttered an angry word in her life. Mr. and Mrs. Brooke were very much attached to each other. She always addressed him as Brooke, and he invariably called her Anna."

To this Mr. Kegan Paul adds, "I remember well Mrs. Brooke myself, and though a boy can scarcely be trusted about looks, since he admires those he loves, I am inclined to think Mrs. Brooke had been more decidedly pretty than my aunt considers her. She was a very silent, undemonstrative woman, but at the same time eminently sympathetic; every one instinctively felt they could trust her, and I should think she was the recipient of many confidences. My mother was most deeply attached to her, and I remember wore mourning for her when she died, though she was no blood relation."

James Brooke was twelve years old, when, in 1815, he was sent from India by his parents, and confided to the care of his paternal grandmother, Mrs. Brooke, who resided at Reigate. The house in which she lived was pulled down a few years ago; and as that has gone, so perhaps has her remembrance from the place, but she was described by the late Dr. Thomas Martin, of Reigate, who remembered her from the time when, as a widow, she came to settle in the place, as a singularly attractive woman with a power of

repartee that yet never wounded even the most sensitive. "She came like an angel among us," the old physician said with great earnestness. Her grandson had a loving and grateful remembrance of her. "She taught me to be thoughtful for others," he said to a friend with whom he was staying near Reigate, in 1865. "At dinner time she would sometimes say to me, when the pudding came on, 'Now, James, if you like to take it to So-and-so, you may. I'll give my share, but you shall do just as you please.' If the pudding were *very* nice, sometimes I ate it up," he continued with a smile. "She never let me give away the meat, but pudding was a luxury that I might harmlessly forego."*

He seems to have divided his time between school, his grandmother's house, and that of his temporary guardian, Mr. Charles Kegan, at Bath. The latter was indeed a second home. Mr. Kegan Paul thus describes it:—

"Mr. Kegan's household was large and heterogeneous. His father-in-law, Mr. Keating, a man of the same age as himself, also a retired Indian civilian, and he lived together, and Mr. Keating's only son, William, who had married a niece of Mr. Kegan's. Mr. and Mrs. Kegan, having no children, adopted a niece, Nancy Horn; and two other nieces—her sisters—also lived with them. The household thus consisted of Mr. Kegan and his wife; her father, Mr. Keating; Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Keating; and three Miss Horns—Fanny, afterwards Mrs. Paul; Eliza, afterwards Mrs. Hamilton Cox; Nancy, now Mrs. Littlehales."

Mrs. Littlehales thinks that James Brooke was sent to more than one school; however this may be, one only claims him, and one only did he publicly and warmly acknowledge—the Grammar School of Norwich. We are indebted to the kindness of the present head master, the Rev. Dr. Jessopp, for the following account of this school and of the boy's life there.

"During the two or three years that young Brooke was at

* In Reigate churchyard is the grave of a woman named Elizabeth East, who died on her 102nd birthday. On this occasion Sir James Brooke pointed it out with interest, for she had often been a recipient of his pudding.

the Grammar School of Norwich, its head master was Mr. Edward Valpy, a brother of Dr. Valpy of Reading, and a man of some enthusiasm for his work. He had never received a university education, but had been kept under his brother's eye as an assistant at Reading School for twenty-nine years, when, making a fortunate marriage with a Miss Western, a near relative of the late Lord Western, and obtaining with her a small fortune, he managed to break away from his position of dependence, and a vacancy occurring in the head mastership of Norwich School, he was elected to it in 1810. Mr. Valpy's immediate predecessors at Norwich were Dr. Forster, a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Chancellor's Medallist of his year; and before him, the learned Dr. Samuel Parr. During Brooke's school-days Dr. Parr was a frequent visitor at the school-house, and some of Brooke's contemporaries remember, on one occasion at least, his thrusting his portentous wig in at the school-door, and with mock authority demanding a holiday for the school from his 'brother Valpy.' Mr. Valpy's pupils, as a rule, speak of him in terms of genuine esteem and gratitude, and with them he stands out through the mists of the past as a figure of almost heroic proportions. Brooke himself, however, seems to have cared little for his master, while for his schoolfellows his feeling was very different—his strong personal regard and even affection for more than one of them lasted through his life, and some of the most interesting of his letters are those addressed to his early playfellows, associates in that glad time of boyhood, 'with hope like a fiery column before him—the dark pillar not yet turned.'

"It is possible Mr. Valpy may have been hard upon the lad, and a passage in a letter from Dr. Rigby to Mr. R. N. Bacon (for many years the editor and proprietor of the *Norwich Mercury*) seems to favour this supposition. 'I have received,' he says, August 19, 1850, 'a long interesting letter from Brooke, of which I send you an extract or two, if it be only to defend our schoolfellow's name from the abominable attacks of the *soi-disant* 'peace party.' . . . You are aware

that on ripping up the boarding of the school last winter a birch was found, which I told him of, and asked him if he and George Western had not put it there, through a hole there was in one of the lockers. He replies, 'I scorn the imputation of stealing the birch. How could I behave so ill to my intimate acquaintance?'

"Among his contemporaries at Norwich between 1815 and 1819, there were not a few who became subsequently men of some mark. Sir Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, was in the same form as Brooke—as was Daniel, the companion of Captain Spratt and Professor Forbes during their Lycian travels, and 'Dick Coxe,' who became afterwards Archdeacon of Lindisfarne. Of those who were above him in the school very few survive, but among them were the Rev. John Gunn, well known among geologists; the Rev. T. Crick, at one time public orator at Cambridge; and Dr. Bond, for many years Professor of Medicine at the same university. General H. Eyre, now colonel of the 59th Regiment, was in the fifth form; and George Borrow (Lavengro), though some years younger, was among the small boys who looked up to Brooke with some awe. In those days the Upper Close at Norwich was the school playground, and the scene of frequent conflicts with 'the cads' of the town. It was not till ten years after Brooke left that the space now enclosed within the iron railings was taken away from the boys, and the avenue of limes planted which are now the great ornament of the Close. The school itself, which has lately been restored to something like its original beauty, was fast crumbling to decay; the windows were half blocked up by a brick wall; and the crypt, now the school gymnasium, was let to a cheese-factor, on whose stores, tradition says, occasional depredations were made.

"Sixty years ago the boys had the run of Household Heath, which then extended up to the river bank, and stretched over as many thousand acres as now it does hundreds. The wild waste land was covered with dense gorse, and swarmed with gipsies, who did their best to keep the rabbits down. The boys liked to talk with them, and George Borrow even

then is said to have been 'for ever in and out of their tents' picking up their wild stories.

"The river Wensum was also the scene of many an excursion, and it was probably here that Brooke first learnt how to manage a boat. His skill in handling a sail is still remembered, and on one occasion he actually saved the life of a school-fellow by diving for him under a sailing boat, which had capsized and turned bottom upwards. The lad was fished up not a moment too soon, and was brought to land in so exhausted a condition as only with difficulty to be restored to consciousness.

"Though Mr. Valpy was remarkably successful with his pupils at the universities, it does not appear that either Brooke or his set at school were by any means fond of 'gerund grinding:' one, indeed, who remembers him well assures us that he was much better informed on general subjects than most boys of his age, but that he would do no more of his lessons than he could help.

"In later life Brooke seems to have been a fair draughtsman. 'Old Crome' was the drawing-master during his time at Norwich, and a great favourite with the boys. As a teacher he was, according to the traditions of the school, simply useless, and his pupils took a delight in decoying the old gentleman into 'finishing' their drawings for them, which usually meant beginning a sketch and ending it at a sitting; for Crome, when once he took a pencil or brush into his hand, never could be induced to drop it, and he would work away with extraordinary rapidity, quite forgetting how time was passing. The Rev. Jonathan Matchett, now resident in Norwich, still possesses one of these 'school exercises.' It is a small landscape in oils, which Crome actually painted during his lesson at the school, with the boys looking on at him, admiring his artistic skill.

"The late Mr. Longe, of Spixworth Park, loved to recur to incidents in which he and Brooke had taken part in the old days, but the stories that are handed down are scarcely more interesting than the usual tales of juvenile scrapes and

adventures. This, however, is observable in all the accounts that have come before us of his school career, viz., the profound impression left by Brooke upon his fellows that in him they had a character of extraordinary force, generosity, nobleness, and daring. Whenever there was anything to do, he was accepted as their born chief and king. His perfect fearlessness and scorn of the consequences that might follow an out-spoken confession impressed themselves strongly on Archdeacon Coxe, who used to say that at school Brooke never denied a fault with which he was charged if he had committed it, and that it was impossible to make him tell a lie.

"Brooke's career at Norwich came to a very abrupt end. On his return to school after the holidays, in what year is uncertain, he found that his great friend, a boy named George Western, had left the school for a sea-life, and thereupon Brooke declared he would stay no longer, and he was as good as his word.

"Writing many years after (April 8, 1851) to one of his school-fellows since then gone to his rest, the Rev. W. Wyatt, Rector of Snenton, Notts., Brooke says, 'You allude to our school-days, but you do not mention any particulars which I wanted to know. Firstly, then, are you the Wyatt who gave me his only guinea to help me on my way home when I was naughty enough to run away, and who himself was wicked enough to skip out of bounds to see me off?'

"The late Mr. Preston, of Yarmouth, used to tell the story of his leaving school, and added one characteristic incident. On the morning of his running away he took out a New Testament from his pocket, and giving it to his school-fellow, said, 'Here Sam! Here's a keepsake for you. I haven't got anything else—but it's a present from me. I'm off!' And off he went accordingly, while Mr. Preston kept the little memento till his death a year or two ago."

The above account, collected by Dr. Jessopp from many sources, is confirmed by Mrs. Littlehales in two particulars. One, that "James Brooke did not like to gain learning in the usual way, but was always eager to glean knowledge for him-

self:" the other, that "he left the school in rather an open manner, for his admiring school-fellows went with him to the coach which took him from Norwich, and he returned to his grandmother at Reigate. I well remember," she adds, "the excitement at home when the post brought the news, and my uncle starting off to Reigate, whence he took James back to school, but not to stay, and brought him to us at Bath."

After Norwich no school seems to have been tried, and Mr. and Mrs. Brooke, returning from India, were able to make a home for their scattered children at Combe Grove, near Bath, and afterwards in that town. Mrs. Littlehales says that the next plan tried was a daily tutor, but "James was too erratic, locked his tutor up, and played all sorts of pranks." Further, that of the girl companions of those young days, her sister Fanny had most influence over him.

"I quite remember our going to Mr. Brooke's, my uncle, Fanny and I, and she was to try and speak to him about his wild ways. We went into the girls' morning-room to wait till the tutor left. James rushed in and kicked off his shoes into a corner, and when poor Mr. Williams humbly came to call him back, James said, 'Oh, I can't come, Miss Horn has got my shoes.' For this, in those more precise days, he got a good wigging; but he was quite unable to see the impropriety which others discovered in the act, and no wonder!"

Whether Mr. Williams was succeeded by a tutor who could command instead of entreat is not known. James was but just sixteen when he received his ensign's commission in the Bengal army. It is dated May 11, 1819, and in the autumn of that year he joined his regiment, the 6th Native Infantry. Of his life in India we have little information beyond that kindly supplied by Major-General Sir Thomas Pears, K.C.B., Military Secretary at the India Office, from records there preserved. By this it appears that he got his lieutenancy, November 2, 1821; that in May, 1822, he became Sub-Assistant Commissary-General; that a year later, "the Governor-General having required from the late and present Commissary-Generals a joint report on the services

of the Commissariat officers, those gentlemen observe, 'Lieutenants Brooke and Fendall during their attendance at Cawnpore were attentive and willing. They possess excellent abilities, and will, we hope, receive an early impression of the necessity for steadiness and decision.'"

After this, James was employed in drilling a body of volunteer native cavalry, of which he used to relate, that having, as he supposed, reduced them to order, they were reviewed by the higher authorities, and when the signal to charge was given, they charged over the hills and far away and were no more seen. They must have come back, however, in some form; for, on the breaking out of our first war with Burmah, he commanded them in an engagement with the enemy near Rungpore, in Assam, January 27, 1825, and won public thanks for conduct on the occasion, officially reported as "most conspicuous."

Two days later he was again in action, close to Rungpore, but the public thanks he the second time received were then coupled with an expression of great regret from his commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Richards, for "a severe wound that enterprising officer, Lieutenant Brooke, Sub-Assistant Commissary-General, received at my side at my first advance to the stockade."

The wound was from a slug, which penetrated and lodged in one lung. Sick leave for a few months followed, and subsequently furlough home, while a wound pension of £70 a year for life was granted.

On reaching England he made his way to Bath, and Mrs. Littlehales, continuing her recollections, says—"We were drinking tea next door when a message came to say that James had arrived. We all rushed in, and found him looking strong and well. In the spring of 1826 he went with us to the Opera in London to hear the new singer, Veluti, who had one of those extraordinarily high voices. The opera was the 'Crociato in Egitto.' It must have been soon after this that the old wound broke out again, when his father nursed him with such loving devotion. No one thought he would recover."

The slug, which had been allowed to remain in the wound, was now extracted from his back near the spine, and afterwards kept by his mother, as a relic, under a glass case.

In July, 1829, his leave of absence having been extended to almost its furthest limit, he set sail from England in the ship *Carn Brae*, but off the Isle of Wight the vessel was wrecked, and he escaped with his life only, his outfit being lost, and he himself so thrown back in health that it was necessary to apply for six months' further leave. This was granted, but accompanied by a warning that should he fail to reach his Presidency within five years from the beginning of his furlough (July 30, 1825), his commission would, under an Act of Parliament, be forfeited.

The weather in January and February, 1830, was unusually severe; but early in March he embarked in the East Indiaman *Castle Huntley*, having then five months in which to reach Bengal.

Under ordinary circumstances this would have been sufficient; as it was, the ship was delayed first by storms and then by calms, so that it was not till July 18th that he landed at Madras to get to Calcutta as best he might by the 30th. By land it was impracticable, and neither the *Castle Huntley* nor any other vessel could be found immediately bound thither. On landing, therefore, he reported his arrival at the office of the Adjutant-General, and as a last chance applied for temporary employ. This was not allowed, and with the warning of the Court of Directors in his mind, a warning repeated officially in a despatch from the Court to the Bengal Government, conveyed, as he knew, by the *Castle Huntley*, he then and there resigned the Company's service.

Meanwhile, Mr. Thomas Brooke, uneasy perhaps at his son's long detention in the Downs, thought to prevent all chance of accident; and, by his influence with the Court of Directors, a further despatch had been sent out to Bengal to the effect that should Lieutenant Brooke be prevented by weather reaching his Presidency at the stipulated time he was

to be re-admitted to the service. James Brooke, however, "ignorant of this indulgence, and acting solely under the impression made by the former orders regarding him, which seemed to cut off the prospect of restoration if he incurred forfeiture of the service, determined to resign rather than remain in India unemployed during the uncertain issue of a reference to his case."

This quotation is part of a letter from Mr. Thomas Brooke to the Court of Directors, dated March 7, 1831. The father was disturbed by his son's action, and attempted to obviate its consequences. The Act of Parliament in question left a doubt as to whether an officer must actually reach his Presidency, or only Indian soil, within a given time; and though the Court in its warning had construed the words in their strictest sense, it did not necessarily follow that they were justified in so doing; and Mr. Brooke urged that on this ground, and in consideration of his son's services and sufferings, he might be re-admitted to the Company's army notwithstanding his voluntary resignation.

In reply to this appeal the Court declared its intention of awaiting the return of the *Castle Huntley*. And here the matter seems to have dropped, possibly because the young man, though he loved fighting, did not specially love the Company's service, and therefore would hardly encourage his father to make a second application.

He went back to England in the *Castle Huntley*, but the voyage was circuitous, for the Company did not indulge in leviathan troop vessels, and its servants had to make their movements suit with the China trade. Brooke therefore sailed to China, and it is on this voyage that we can for the first time let him tell his own story, and show the different moods of mirth and mischief, fancy and philosophy, that served to make up his compound nature.

"*August* 18, 1830.—On board the *Castle Huntley*. How little I dreamed on leaving England that I should take up my pen to describe the scenery of Penang. But so it is. A wanderer from my youth upwards, necessity and incli-

nation have led me over a considerable portion of the globe, no portion of which, however, is less known and less appreciated than the Indian Archipelago. I may, then, be forgiven for a loose sketch here and there of the scenes and the people I may chance to encounter. Everybody knows Madras, and there is little there worth seeing or knowing. Both land and sea abound in sharks, each after its kind surprisingly ravenous. The first glimpse we had of the place however, at daybreak, was highly interesting. The elegant row of buildings on the quay, fringed by the white surf, the sneaking-looking fort, a few oriental-looking buildings near the black town, and the mass of lovely green which environs the place, give a favourable impression not borne out by a closer inspection. The gentry, that is the European gentry, have a strong provincial manner. Their feelings, their associations, and consequently their conversation, are *Indian*. It is not easy to find a man who can quit the routine of his profession. The discussions on the business of the courts and the etiquette of the camp are endless. In short, they are provincials. The natives are despicable, and here, as at every other place I have seen, have been corrupted by their intercourse with Europeans. They lose their peculiar virtues arising from their habits and their religion, and become tainted with the vices of those around them. The subject would be worth a more minute inquiry: Africans and North and South Americans corrupted, enslaved—or extirpated? How is it in the Pacific? I don't know. But no rational Englishman can observe the deterioration of the native character, arising from their intercourse with the whites, without a blush.

"So palpable is the fact, and so commonly allowed, that in Calcutta the knowledge of English is synonymous with the practice of roguery, and no person possessed of such knowledge would be admited into the service of a respectable European. The fact is allowed, but the causes and the consequences are never thought of! However, sure I am that a person might as well judge of the people of England by the inhabitants of Wapping as the continent of India by the sample of Madras!

"*August* 28.—A fine passage brought us to Penang, which certainly deserves the appellation of the Eden of the Eastern Wave, for never was a purer gem set in ocean's vast expanse. The view of the island from the sea is enchanting; the hills rise from the water's edge covered with the most luxuriant verdure, and realize our very dreams of nature in her wild and uncultivated form. The passage to the anchorage, lying between the island and the Queda shore, is in many parts so land-locked as to appear like a moderate-sized lake, and the town, off which the ships bring to, has the most primitive appearance imaginable. The diminutive fort, the modest wood houses enveloped in foliage, the lowly native huts, and the scattered cocoa and betel trees, with their slim and elegant trunks and feathery heads, reminded me strongly of the features of our early Indian settlements. The inhabitants of Penang are of every class and every nation—the industrious Chinese, the treacherous Malay, the lazy Hindostani, the Burmese, the Siamese, etc., etc.; and yet, with such a variety, the island is thinly inhabited to what it might and ought to have been, had proper encouragement been given to settlers. But such hopes are now at an end, for the Company have reduced the establishment; and the few incentives to improvement being withdrawn, this spot may be restored to its original wildness, from which, indeed, but a very small portion has ever been redeemed. Had the Company followed the same policy with regard to Penang that the King's Government have with New South Wales, how different a place might it now have been! Had they even retained their firmly-rooted prejudice against European colonization, allowed grants of land rent free to all native settlers for a certain term of years, on condition of clearing and bringing it into cultivation, this island, the greater part of which is now a jungle, might have defrayed those expenses about which the Company call out so vehemently. It appears to me pretty certain that territorial possessions of the East India Company are considered as secondary to their China trade—the revenues of India are confused with the accounts of tea, the resources of India are not fully developed, or at

any rate are imperfectly known, the grasp of monopoly stunts improvement, and the exigencies of war and the necessities of of peace are readily defrayed from the profits of commerce. If this be true with respect to the continent, how much greater effect has the same cause on the insular possessions of the Company. They are, in fact, public-houses for the China ships; their internal condition is a matter of insignificance. One observation more and I have done. If European colonization is to be tried in the east, Penang is the spot on which the experiment should be made. The ground is fertile, the climate cooler and better than the greater part of the continent of India, inhabitants scarce, and religious prejudices almost unknown. Here a settler might hack and hew away to his heart's content if they would give him the land he cleared of jungle. Here, likewise, with the industry and activity of the European and the care of a fostering Government, various articles of commercial produce might be grown. But the Company have a monopoly. *Basta cosi!*

"*August* 30.—We landed in the evening. It had rained the greater part of the day, and the atmosphere, in consequence, was as clear and transparent, and the sky as glowing, as the finest autumnal sunset in Italy. We took a survey of the town, but there is nothing to see. Horses were hired; we had mounting and squabbling, and kicking and tumbling; but at last off we set into the country like so many mad creatures. We shouted, and shrieked, and galloped, excited alike by change of scene and new-found freedom. Every instant the scenery called forth exclamations of admiration and delight, and we paused in the midst of our wild career to enjoy its beauties. Glades and glens, clothed in the richest foliage, attracted our attention; swelling knolls, with clumps of fine trees, festooned from bough to bough with *enormous* creepers, stood prominently forward mid the masses of thicker jungle; strange trees; rich, and to us unknown, flowers; gigantic ferns, and above all, the distinguishing feature of Eastern scenery—the numerous and lovely tribe of palms—were around us on every side. The Sensitive plant, so often admired as a rarity,

here shrunk beneath our horses' feet; whilst, to finish the picture, we occasionally caught a glimpse of the sea and the blue mountains on the opposite coast. Who that has lived all his days in a civilized land can imagine the wild excitement of such a ride! We lost our road, we wandered up and down, careless and delighted, and just at dusk reached the waterfall we had set out to visit. A small stream gushes as it were from amid the boughs of the trees that overhang the rocks, and falls from a considerable height into a basin. Thence it foams and frets down a narrow channel, and, after a succession of tiny leaps, reaches the vale below. At one spot on its course it spreads into a rocky pool, so thickly surrounded and screened by trees and shrubs that even the brightest sun can but penetrate in partial flickering beams. Diana and her nymphs might have chosen this retreat—the crystal water with its ceaseless murmur, the trembling sunshine amid the waving branches, the inviting coolness, the deep solitude, and the difficulty of access, all combine to render it a fitting bath for the Goddess of Chastity. I visited the spot several times, and it constantly called to mind Tasso's delicious description. If the description had been meant for the place it could not have been truer, only we might regret we saw no nymphs in the clear and limpid water.

"Thus ended our first excursion. A dinner at the inn, little wine, much merriment, and an exorbitant bill, finished the day—or rather, evening.

"*August* 30.—Made preparations for an extended excursion. Cruickshank (the ship's surgeon), Webster, Millet, Stonhouse, and myself, attended by a white and brown creature nicknamed Lord Petersham, set forth in high feather, with the firm determination to kill all the game in the island. Rode out six or seven miles through a most beautiful country, disposed, like a park, with trees and shrubs, admirably grouped on the greenest sward, and a small stream to enliven the scene.

"We found nothing to shoot, but enjoyed ourselves greatly in sauntering and admiring, and eating and drinking, as usual

—a sport in which Millet greatly distinguished himself. Got some of the longest and finest cocoa-nuts I ever saw, each containing two full-sized tumblers of milk, and a most delicious beverage it is on a sultry day. A heavy thunderstorm came on during our repast, and a regular tropical rain soon soaked us through and through. Guns would not go off, straw hats and thin shoes would not keep on, so we left the jungle, and betook ourselves to our carriage, a nondescript concern, to visit a flour-mill, which our Penang Lord Petersham represented as a most wonderful piece of machinery. The mill, on getting there, we found as rude and clumsy as a mill at Penang should be, and just suited to Lord Petersham's semi-barbarous notions of perfection. Behind the mill was a large muddy pond, into which we all agreed to go; but poor Lord Petersham swore in great agitation by all the angels in heaven that a devil was in the pond, a wicked devil, too, that had already carried off several folk. Seized my lord in the midst of his asseverations, and chucked him headlong into the water, food for the fishes, the devil, and the alligators! Poor Lord Petersham doubtless charged me in the bill for taking this slight liberty with his sacred person. The whole party betook themselves to the water, clothes and all, but shewed some timidity of the devil at first, and several false alarms sent us double quick to the bank. However, there was no devil after all, and we boldly swam about, and even encouraged Lord Petersham till he forgot his fears and joined us in the sport. Millet played the grand buffoon, and Petersham second fiddle to Millet—much merriment and vast foolery. Evening was closing, so we got out of the pond, cold, wet, and fagged, and seven or eight miles from the inn. Old Millet betook himself to the carriage, overcome with wine and water.

"Three horses between the other four, and we agreed to run turn and turn about. Started—Webster running; Cruickshank and Stonhouse rode clear away, leaving poor Webster and myself with only one horse between us. We stuck to each other, one laying hold of the stirrup and running, and

changing when tired. Got into the town just as the fashionable world of Penang were enjoying the evening air. We were all mud and dirt and wet, *sans* hats, *sans* handkerchiefs; —laughed at public opinion, and the public laughed at us. We abused Edward and the doctor, all in fun though, for we were not angry, and rather proud of our running. Got aboard late, very tired. Slept like a top, and needed no rocking.

"*September* 5.—I have little to add except a renewed panegyric on the beauties of this island. Each day during my stay here I have made different excursions with some of my shipmates, and each time enjoyed fresh pleasures from the enchanting scenery. I cannot help particularizing the view from the hill leading to the Invalid Bungalow, a landscape of vast extent, and so diversified that the eye never wearies of gazing. Let me mention, too, my mad frolic with Kennedy and Jolly, when we enacted the wild men of the woods; and my scrambling expedition up the hill and down the stream at the waterfall, with Harry Wright, and our encounter with the fiendish-looking and most wretched beings who were employed in making charcoal. Matchless and lovely island, fare thee well!"

CHAPTER II.

1830—1831.

THE Journal, or rather Journal-letter, which is addressed to his sister Margaret, continues:—

"*Castle Huntley*, off the Little Carimon Island,
"September 9, 1830.

"We shall, wind and weather permitting, be at Singapore to-morrow, and I am credibly informed that letters despatched thence will reach England sooner than those I sent from Madras and Penang. How delightful is the thought of once more meeting you, my loved sister, and meeting you free from the shackles which have bound me! I toss my cap into the air, my commission into the sea, and bid farewell to John Company and all his evil ways. I am like a horse who has got a heavy clog off his neck, and feels himself at liberty to gallop or feed wherever his inclination may prompt. Come what may, I am clear of that creature in Leadenhall Street. Here goes a puff of my cigar, and with it I blow the Company to the devil or anywhere else so they trouble me no further!

"We have touched at Malacca since I last wrote, but our stay was short, and I was so unwell that I could go ashore only one day, during which time, however, I took care to commit as many imprudences as would have lasted some men half their lives. There is much at Malacca to interest, and the surrounding country is almost as beautiful and more wild than Penang. The settlement is interesting from its having been one of the earliest possessions of the Dutch in India. It.

is now but the shadow of its former self, though the traces of its rude and primitive importance may be traced in the ruined church and some substantial houses. This church stands on a gentle eminence near the sea-shore, and within are the tombs of many a stout Dutchman who lived or died here in days of yore. The Chinese school is another important feature at Malacca. I hope it may succeed, but I fear it is badly supported. The country around is wild and thickly wooded. Mount Ophir, a mountain of considerable height, runs its head at the back of the settlement, and gives an imposing appearance to the scene.

"The passage of this part of the Straits is becoming interesting. On one side is the Great Carimon Island, inhabited by a bloody-minded pirate called Raja Jaffier, a good sort of Malay gentleman who takes people's money for love and cuts their throats gratis. A young officer of the Bengal Artillery going towards Malacca, a short time ago, in a small brig, fell into this amiable person's hand, and has never since been heard of. Around us are various smaller islands, fringed with wood to the water's edge, and all uninhabited. How enticing is the mere sound of an uninhabited island! Imagination fires up at the idea, and every energy is strung up to explore and discover! What a field for enterprise and adventure! but not for me, for we sail on, and heed not the murmurs of ungratified curiosity.

"*10th.*—We are fast approaching Singapore, my dearest sister, and then I must bid ye all adieu for some time, as no other opportunity of forwarding letters will occur till the dispatch of the early ships for England. I wish to Heaven I could know passing events at home, for it is only the doubt and suspense from want of communication that render me uncomfortable at times. I should like to have you here for a day or two just to enjoy the wild and beautiful scenery. At this moment we are surrounded by islands on every side, and sailing over a sea smooth as glass. Some of the land is bold and high, covered with luxurious vegetation to the very summit; some scarce above the level of the sea, but equally

clothed with verdure. It is only provoking that we pass on without being able to go ashore."

Singapore is described in a letter to Mrs. Brooke, dated September 18, 1830, as being admirably situated for a commercial mart, and probably destined to become the emporium for the produce of the Straits.

"The scenery, especially of the islands around, is extremely beautiful, and we constantly sail up one narrow channel and down another, amid green islets untrodden by the foot of man. Indeed, on many there is no soil to tread, they being formed by the twisted roots of the mangrove trees. The manner in which this tree grows is extraordinary, for it appears to spring from beneath the sea, and the twisted roots, often covering a considerable space, erect, in the first place, a barrier against the water, and gradually form dry land by the slow accumulation of soil. Many a tempting-looking spot, all verdure above, is found to be water below. I have seen something of the Chinese since my arrival, and they are the first race of people I ever met with whose appearance positively displeased me. Their habits are the most filthy, their dress the most unbecoming, their faces the most ugly, and their figures the most ungraceful of any people under the sun. They appear cut out of a log of wood by the hand of some unskilful savage. Their mouths are wide, their noses snub, their eyes small and set crooked in their heads. When they move they swing arms, legs, and body, like a paper clown pulled by a string; and, to sum up, all their colour is a dirty yellow, nearly the hue of a Hindostani corpse. Yet, with all these drawbacks, they are industrious and good tempered, cheerful and obliging."

The *Castle Huntley* was safe in Singapore harbour while two typhoons of unusual severity swept by. These passed, the voyage was continued. The Journal is now addressed to Mrs. Brooke.

"What China is, I cannot yet say, not having passed through the gates of the Celestial Empire, but the approach is worthy a mighty kingdom. The Yellow River, or Tigris, discharges itself into the sea by a vast number of

channels, and forms a secure harbour and safe anchorages amidst a maze of high and frowning islands. The aspect of the country, however, is entirely different and very inferior to the scenery in the Archipelago. There nature luxuriates and lavishes her choicest productions, here she assumes the stern and barren aspect of a wilder region.

"*Canton, October* 20, 1830.—There is a ship about to sail, and I have not allowed any opportunity to pass of communicating with you—I shall not this either. I am happy to say that I have quite recovered from fever, which hung about me for a considerable time. Now, however, that I am well, everybody is sick, and the climate of China, owing to the violent transitions from heat to cold, is enough to kill any one exposed to it. Numbers are laid up with severe colds, which the medical profession mystify by calling 'influenza.'

"The entrance to China may indeed be deemed an epoch in a man's life, for he may look big on his return and exclaim with an air, 'I have been to China!' and may, besides, talk of 'Chin-chin' and 'Chow-chow,' and 'First-Chop Mandarins' and 'Jospigeon,' and other semi-Chinese barbarisms, which will make a party of elderly and ignorant women open their eyes and smack their lips over the tea which comes from the Celestial Empire. This, as far as my observation goes, is the extent of the knowledge acquired of the Chinese Empire by the Company's resident servants at Canton; for, pent up in a miserable corner and restricted to an intercourse with a few ill-informed merchants, their means are more limited than their information. Were they, however, to relate further to the old tea-drinking maidens, they would have to tell of the daily insults they and their countrymen receive from these ignorant and presumptuous barbarians. They would tell how, resembling the Jews of old in England, and the Greeks of the present day in Constantinople, they live in splendour and luxury in the interior of their establishments, but are treated like dogs and slaves when they stir out, and placarded like beasts at every corner of the town. In fact, the whole of our policy seems to have been in the meanest spirit of mer-

cantile concession, for, instead of looking on this growing and important trade as one of equal benefit to both parties and equally necessary, the maxim seems to have been to pick up any crumbs the Emperor may bestow, and bear kicks, insult, and degradation to any extent he may command. What, indeed, is national honour, or national independence, when compared to tea? Do not suppose for an instant that I mean to say that the supercargoes have been parties in this line of conduct. They are men of liberal and enlightened minds, restless under their position, and well aware how calculated such a policy is in the long run to bring ruin and confusion on the Company's affairs. Concession has its limit and patience its bound, and sooner or later the Company must fight this battle, for the Chinese will drive them to the wall. This policy is truly an emanation from Leadenhall Street, and becomes the place of its birth!

"But why, dearest mother, should I trouble you with a political letter? Indeed, I do not think I should be guilty of writing of the Company's affairs at all but for the wrath which is stirred up within me by the treatment which Europeans receive at Canton. The very children lisp out abuse on the scurvy white dog, and, following the example of their parents, they make every sign which can disgust or affront, and it is well if they stop there. I entertain a faint hope that the supercargoes are going to quarrel with the Viceroy of Canton. The trade will be stopped, a row may ensue, and what fun will it be bullying the Chinamen! The treaty of last year was, in all probability, badly understood or loosely put together, for the Chinese, instead of allowing the ladies to come to Canton, as it is affirmed was then stipulated, insist on turning the only lady out again. This the factors will not accede to, and so Mrs. Baines stands in the light of a second Helen or Cleopatra, only she is not so beautiful, though a far more proper person than either.

"Another subject of disagreement is the numerous placards stuck over the walls of the town, lavishing such abuse on the Europeans as it is certainly derogatory to them to bear. The

Viceroy, however, insists that these placards have always been periodically published, and that, having become a custom, they cannot now be dispensed with. So stands the case. And now, from a feeling of pure mercy towards the mother I love so much, I spare her all further correspondence for the next twelve hours, after which time I propose an elaborate discussion on Chinese manners, character, and habits, a description of the country from the Land's End to Canton, including the celebrated Bocca Tigris, commonly called the Bogue, besides a brief notice of a celebrated traveller now in Canton.

"*Twelve o'clock.*—I must break the truce just to say that a circular has been handed to me intimating that a meeting of the British inhabitants is to take place at one o'clock, to consult about the best means of obtaining redress from the Chinese Government for sundry wrongs inflicted on us. I forgot to mention the most serious point in dispute, viz., a demand on the part of the Viceroy to have a Parsee delivered to the Chinese authorities for the murder of an Englishman. Now the death of the man having taken place in a fracas, the Parsee being a subject of the Company, and acquitted by law, his surrender would be unjust as well as pusillanimous. We shall see what one o'clock will produce. I expect mere fume and fretting.

"Yesterday I was much pleased with meeting Holman, the celebrated blind traveller. He has a fine and, spite of his blindness, an expressive countenance; decision of purpose is stamped on every feature, but his beard and thick moustache probably give him a sterner air than he would otherwise have. His manners are gentlemanly and animated, his conversation both copious and instructive, and his observation apparently very penetrating. I was struck with his descriptions. One was of a Chinese lady's pipe. The mouth-piece, he said, was ivory richly carved, the pipe a thin cane, the bowl silver also carved, and a bag attached to the stick to contain the tobacco was of crimson velvet richly embroidered in gold. Speaking likewise of a Hong merchant's daughter, he said, 'She is beautiful, and what splendid eyes she has!'

"I have written on, spite of my promise, till it is near one o'clock. I am going—the hour is come which decides the fate of China! Some merchants are about to growl—tremble, infidel Emperor!!

"*October* 26*th*.—Since writing the above, dearest mother, several days have elapsed, and the ship which was to have conveyed it has sailed; but it is a matter of small consequence, since in all probability the regular ships will reach home sooner than the free-trader. I have been laid up with the raging influenza, a malady I should never have spoken of so lightly had I known its severity. The morning after writing last, I quitted Canton in disgust, was unwell coming down, and laid up finally with severe fever, cough and cold, along with eighty other officers and men. I am now well again, but weak. The disease abates amongst the men and every day sees them restored to health. Every ship has had its turn, and though the sickness has been so general, scarcely a single death has occurred.

"Politics are still the rage—the imbecile Viceroy, the imbecile supercargoes, and the imbecile captain, all vie one with another to be first in idiotic puling or vapouring braggadocio. The Viceroy, forsooth, smokes opium and swears by Josh's toe and the beard of Confucius that he will not have a white woman in Canton. The supercargoes will have a white woman, not from any good or substantial reason, not because they think it necessary or proper, but because the said white woman chooses it shall be so, and as the said white woman is the Typan or Head Factor's better-half, neither the Typan himself nor his subordinate colleagues dare oppose anything against the current of her sovereign pleasure. So this lady has become the bone of contention.

"In order, however, to convey a regular account of these important affairs, I must go back to the meeting which agreed to remonstrate with H.H. the Viceroy concerning the offensive placards and other state matters. You must, however, have a clear idea that what in China is dignified by the name of remonstrance would in any other country be called a petition.

Supercargoes, merchants, officers, etc. etc. etc., and I in their train, trudged through narrow filthy lanes and byeways until we reached the gate-way of the city of Canton, where like other petitioners we were kept waiting till our petition was received by the hand of one of the Viceroy's subordinates, and ourselves dismissed to walk home again. Thus concluded the first day's farce. The second opened by the Viceroy notifying that the lady must be sent out of Canton, and the Parsee delivered up, or he would send an armed force and drive away the one and make prisoner of the other. This decisive message produced an act of heroism on the part of the factors. They sent for two hundred seamen and two guns, and turned the factory into a place of strength. But nobody supposes they intend fighting, not even the Chinese; and so up to this time affairs remain unsettled.

"*October* 28*th*.—I have little space for more, my dearest mother, except to say that I am getting well again from the influenza. I can only tell you that I long to get home, and think about it very often, but I fear there is no prospect of our getting away before the beginning of January. We call at Angier and finally at St. Helena, remaining a couple of days at each place. Pray be mindful to let me have letters at the latter place, for it is what I reckon on greatly, and I shall be disappointed if I find none. Some of you shall hear again soon. This letter is already too voluminous to add any more to it except that, with a thousand loves, I am ever your affectionate son— J. B."

Such being the state of relations between Europeans and Chinese, the mischievous element in James Brooke's nature led him into a madcap adventure. There is no mention of it in the Journal, fragments of which are alone preserved, but oral tradition hands down through Mr. Kegan Paul, that, with a following of young men, he penetrated, in Chinese dress, into Canton, on the night of the Feast of Lanterns, and that being once in, the whole party threw off disguise and broke some of the lanterns which were accounted precious. They narrowly escaped with their lives, and how escape was possible is the

marvel. They were perhaps the first Englishmen who dared to enter during the feast, but whether the achievement were worth the probable consequences is more than questionable.

The next Journal entry, dated December 1, 1830, dwells on the "delicious sensation on escaping from a sick couch. There is beauty in what before appeared deformity, and a childlike power of enjoyment expands within us." This is written at Whampoa, after "five weary weeks of suffering," through which Mr. Cruickshank, the young Scotch surgeon, cared for him with a special care, for the two men liked each other and a warm and trustful friendship grew between them.

Other friendships also came of this long voyage,* and a great day-dream arose of a life of adventure in which all the friends might take part. As usual, the foremost difficulty was the lack of money; but should the means ever be forthcoming, that which was now known and often discussed as 'the schooner plan,' might, it was hoped, be practicable. We shall hear again of this.

The Journal continues :—

"*January*, 1831.—Finished reading the Gospel of St. John for the first time with attention; felt comforted by the perusal only, inasmuch as its simplicity is a relief after the damning dogmas of theologians. Could not help my mind seeking matter for and against the Trinity. I certainly can

* Notably one with Mr. James Templer. Mrs. John C. Templer says, "My husband's elder brother James was mate in the *Castle Huntley*. Brooke took an immense fancy to him, and during a period of four or five years spent a great deal of the time he was in England at my father-in-law's house at Bridport, where a room was always called 'Brooke's room.' Here he made his first acquaintance with my husband, and they soon became great friends; the younger man worshipping in Brooke all the grace, romance, talent, and sentiment too, which one can fancy as having been so especially attractive at that period of his life. On James giving up the East India Company's service and going to Australia the friendship with John was intensified, and one may almost say transferred, although Brooke always maintained that he had never met so delightful a companion as James."

The Rev. William C. Templer adds: "I have a very lively remembrance of Sir James Brooke—first, from the fact that almost before I could walk, to say nothing of swimming, he carried me on his back outside the piers of Bridport harbour; and, secondly, when I was a school-boy at Westminster he tipped me a sovereign."

say with sincerity that I find nothing by which my reason would discover the doctrine, much more warrant its belief. It is, indeed, only the inevitable damnation assigned to its rejection by St. (so-called) Athanasius, and, through him, by the Church, that makes it of importance. If I come to a wrong conclusion, may God forgive me, and may He enlighten my heart!

"*January* 7.—Walking at nine with Abeel (an American missionary), conversing, amongst other things, of America, on which, as on most other topics, I found him mild and liberal. Subsequently he rather forced me into a religious discussion. I was guarded however, said little, and urged that as the opinion of others rather than my own. I cannot help respecting this man, who, from zeal in his religious belief, forsakes his home and his friends, and becomes a humble and despised missionary of the Christian religion. How much prejudice exists about missions and missionaries!—and prejudice soon leads to passion, and passion to violence. As long, however, as the mission is of Christ, and guided by His precepts, there *cannot possibly* be any harm, and he must be a heathen who denies the good that might result.

"*January* 14*th*.—Up before seven o'clock. Read St. Matthew, and thought, in my acuteness, I had discovered a difference between him and St. John. St. Matthew, chap. 20, ver. 19, thus writes: 'And shall deliver Him to the Gentiles to mock, to scourge, and to crucify Him, and the third day He shall rise again;' whilst St. John declares, on going to the sepulchre of Christ and finding it empty, 'For as yet they knew not the Scripture that He must rise again from the dead.'

"15*th*.—Anchored to wood and water on the coast of Sumatra. Every tint of green, and every variety of foliage; clear water, gemmed with three or four islands called The Sisters, through which peep the white cliffs. Passed the day ashore, wandering, and shooting snipe, through a wild jungle;—tracks of elephants and other wild beasts in every direction, noble trees, gigantic creepers, etc., etc.;—quite uninhabited, delight-

ful and indescribable! Here we were lords of all we surveyed. We cut trees which would have adorned the finest park, with as little scruple as though they had been brushwood; and we roamed through nature's wildest haunts, and shot birds without fear of gamekeepers or game-laws. Towards dusk, the work being finished—the wood in the boats and the butts afloat—we ate our provisions, and were nearly eaten ourselves by sand-flies and mosquitoes, for enacting the savage has inconveniences as well as pleasures.

"At seven in the evening we pushed off from the shore—the two cutters towing the butts—and went merrily along, expecting to reach the ship in less than an hour. Fate, however, had otherwise decreed, for, having passed between the second and third island, and when almost alongside, we got into a current, and drifted astern in spite of all our exertions at the oars. It was provoking to be so near, and yet unable to reach; to hear eight bells without much hope of being in bed till eight bells in the morning, if then. Away we went—the sound died away, the ship became more and more indistinct. The men, wearied and disheartened, gave up tugging at the oars, and our progress towards the China Sea was consequently accelerated. They burnt blue lights from the ship, and sent the captain's gig to our assistance; for having unrove the greater part of the running rigging, she brought us the end; but it was of no more use than the blue lights, for it went like twine when we got hold of it. I had made up my mind to a lodging in the boat, or on the beach, when, fortunately, some one discovered that we had a small grapnel in the boat, so we anchored one boat and the butts in twelve fathom water, and with the other cutter made for the ship for assistance. I got on board at twelve—the last cutter and the boats not till morning, on the turn of the tide. All was confusion and hurry in consequence of this mishap, for every one laid the blame on his neighbour, and the only blame on the occasion was not making sufficient allowance for the tide.

"*April* 22*nd*.—Last night we observed a luminous appearance of the sea, which would alone repay a man the tedium of

a long voyage. The evening was at first clear, and before dark the waves gave out most beautiful tints of the lightest green, mixed with a tinge of a reddish hue, in the foam off the bows and in the wake of the vessel. When the moon rose the red colour was also observable in the atmosphere, and reflected on the sails, the sea retaining it still and remaining very bright. This continued till three o'clock in the morning, when the moon being set and the sky dark and gloomy, the luminous appearance increased in splendour, till the ship absolutely appeared cleaving her way through an ocean of light. So strong, indeed, was this light, sparkling and breaking around her bows and sides, that it rendered everything on deck and aloft perfectly distinct; and it will give you an idea of its brightness when I say that, seated in the stern port between decks, no better light being near, I was able to read the heading of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*. I was at first inclined to think that the red appearance was a reflection from the sky, but this certainly could not have been the case, from its only being perceptible where the water was broken into foam; and towards morning the colour became stronger, though, as I have said, the night was dark and cloudy. Three distinct shades were observable: first the general luminous appearance, which was pale, resembling gas-light; within this, innumerable darker spangles; and, lastly, the red tinge which appeared to float at the top. It was indeed a sight that was truly wonderful and far beyond the reach of description. Fancy, however, a sea of black, with every breaking billow shining with light, whilst our vessel, with a steady breeze, careered through the brilliance, and, like a comet, left a trace of light behind."

In what latitude this luminous appearance was seen is not stated. The next entry is written from St. Helena.

"St. Helena, as you approach, is certainly the darkest and ugliest looking rock on the surface of the globe; but it is magnificently gloomy, and interesting from its very desolation. Strong batteries protect every accessible point of the island, and the landing-place is guarded by the Fort of Ladder Hill,

and several other works capable of blowing any number of vessels out of the water. Even the length of the beach is bristling with cannon, and presents altogether a formidable aspect. The town fills up a narrow valley or ravine running down to the sea, and has the appearance of being cut out of pasteboard for the amusement of some little child, it looks so neat, so stiff, and so spruce, and on such a miniature scale compared with all around. After the Governor, I believe Mr. Solomon is the greatest person in the island. He is or was a Jew, and unites in his own person the character of shop-keeper, innkeeper, merchant, farmer, and gentleman. The valley is a little military hell; for the poor soldiers, having never done anything, and without the prospect of ever having anything to do, strut and parade the town, and, like the king of France of yore, 'march up the hill, and then march down again,' with such a piping and bugling that the rocks constantly resound with these martial noises. The interior presents much the same aspect as the approach, save that here and there a pretty green valley is found amid the general barrenness, doubly beautiful and enticing from the contrast with all around. The character of the scenery is imposing but monotonous, presenting a succession of jagged peaks and deep ravines, stretching away to the ocean.

"Napoleon's tomb is in one of these peaceful valleys, shaded by its willows and peach-trees, with its fount of crystal water, and refreshing greenness. The trees, since I last visited the spot, droop from the depredations committed on them; one of the five original willows and one of the two peach-trees are already dead, and the rest look as though prepared to follow their companions. Fresh willows and a number of cypresses have been planted in the enclosure, and are thriving, thanks to the care and attention of the Governor's daughters. A few days since, a Frenchman visited the tomb, and hung a tri-coloured cockade on the rail, now once more the national emblem of France.

"Three days I found enough for St. Helena: its hot valley, its noisy soldiers, its Jewish gentlemen, roguish

citizens, and thieving washerwomen, and I gladly saw the sails hoisted to waft us to Old England."

The next glimpse we have is given through a letter to Mr. Cruickshank, dated Bath, June 16th, 1831. The two men alluded to in this, together with others mentioned in later letters, appear to have belonged to the *Castle Huntley* fraternity

"You will have made allowance, my dear Cruickshank, for a few days' delay after my arrival at home, days passed in all the whirl of renewed affections, talking, and listening to the details of the last fifteen months. Even now I fear my letter will be an abortion, for I can scarcely muster two ideas together, and I am sure I cannot keep them in array for any length of time. I thought of you on Saturday morning, and I wished you a speedy passage to Scotland and a pleasant meeting with your friends. The same evening I was comfortably seated amid mine, not feeling quite comfortable, for I felt a little strange as I always do at first. My youngest sister I found had been unwell last winter, and, though she is still delicate, her health is so much improved that they assure me there is no cause for anxiety on her account. I hope not; for I feel much of my happiness in this world is dependent on those I love; for, wild and fickle as I am inclined to be in all things, I don't think I am so in my affections. My mother—you know, doctor, how I love her!—is the same as ever, the same kind, mild, considerate creature! It would repay a man for all suffering and absence to meet with one he loves so tenderly. This is *cant;* but it is cant I cannot do without, and Heaven help the man who can!

"You, too, have experienced all these sensations: you have listened to the little family historiettes, and have rejoiced and grieved over the events that have occurred during your absence, and you can therefore make allowance for my pen running in this strain. I would not *undo* our voyage for a great deal, and, believe me, I look back on the many hours of unreserved intercourse with you with feelings of the purest pleasure. If my society cheered you, yours was equally welcome to me; and if there be any debt due, it is from me for

your kindness to me during my illness, and indeed always; but I like you too well to be burdened by any debt. If the expression of my kindest esteem is of any value to you, I do assure you, you have it.

"Stonhouse called here before my arrival, but could not be prevailed on to come in and see my mother and sister. I wrote to him the next day, but he has not replied to my letter. A few years ago I should have been deeply mortified even at this slight, insignificant as it is. I am so a little now, as my style may show; but I know how terribly all men are inclined to judge one another, and so I cannot help having some hope that Stonhouse may value my acquaintance a little more than I give him credit for; but the real truth is, I have ever been too complying with his slightest wish, and have shown him too many weaknesses in my character for him to respect me much. Now, you will say, I write as if I were sore, and it is true; but the same feelings that make me so would also make me very ready to acquit S. of all intention to hurt me, for you know how well I liked the boy. I expect nothing from men, however; but if they will give me their affection or show me kindness I am doubly pleased.

"I have dined out two or three times, but I feel the irksomeness of civilized society greater than ever, and its bonds shall not hold me long. My own family speak to me of the years we are to pass together, and it always makes me sad to think that in my inmost heart I have determined to plunge into some adventure that will bestow activity and employment.

"I have thought much of 'the schooner,' and I do assure you I am going to act, by making myself first a navigator, and then a bit of a sailor, to qualify me should the plan ever ripen; and if perseverance can push a plan into existence, it shall this one, which is as daring as I wish, and might be profitable. More of this, however, hereafter. Harry Wright I hope soon to have here. I have written to ask him to come as soon as it suits his convenience. I am happy in paying

him this little attention, for he has few friends in the world, and none to welcome him to England.

"God bless you now! I feel as if I had much more to say which is hopping about in my brain, but it shall come in another letter. I hope, if I be rich enow, to see Scotland in the summer season. *Addio, caro amico mio!* Write to me soon and fully."

CHAPTER III.

1831—1833.

THE hope of visiting Mr. Cruickshank in Scotland was realized by Brooke in the autumn. His first letter to the doctor after his return to Bath, dated December 4, 1831, begins with a lamentation over his want of power to help his friend on in life. The Mr. Stonhouse, who had hurt his feelings by not writing, has been, he says, staying with him for some weeks, and he has learned to understand him better, and to regard his not answering letters as simply "the habit of the creature, rather than forgetfulness of old or past times. I have quite forgiven him in my heart, but I never can get a letter out of him. But if we have friends, dear doctor, we must take them as we find them, faults and all, and God knows we have all enough one way or other. I will give you full leave amongst the catalogue of mine to put down bad writing as one!

"I am employing myself with navigation, resolved on 'the schooner plan' when I have money enough. I am not in good spirits; I never am unless I am knocking about."

A few days later he wrote, remarking, apparently on some observation, "I am generally a grave man ashore. I feel none of the excitement and buoyancy I do when at sea, and I, like the rest of the world, get involved in a web of petty cares and petty duties which I dislike. Nothing stirs the current of my thoughts except an occasional day's hunting, which is only resorted to for want of better employ. I never could be

otherwise than your friend, and what service I could do you, you should be as welcome to as a glass of water; but beyond my esteem and goodwill I have nothing to offer, and so you must accept these for want of better, and give me yours in return.

"I am getting more and more violent in my political opinions, but you and I will not quarrel on that score. Many disgusting facts are daily elicited by inquiry in this country. The whole class of labouring poor are paupers receiving parish relief weekly. The pay of an able-bodied labourer in this neighbourhood is seven shillings a week, and all squalid and beggarly paupers!

"By Radical Reform, mind, I do not mean mere Parliamentary change, but a bold, fearless inquiry and remedy of the evils which have made this once well-disposed country a hot-bed of discontent and ferocity."

In February, 1832, Mr. Brooke became ill, and James wrote to stop an intended visit from his friend.

"I write in pain and distress, for my father is very ill, I fear very dangerously ill. I need make no apology for saying that I must put off the pleasure of seeing you. Farewell, my dear friend. God be with you!"

His political opinions found vent at this time in a pamphlet, which he describes to Mr. Cruickshank as being "a pamphlet in answer to a pamphlet on Reform. My bookie, such as it is—and even its author has no great opinion of it—is in the hands of the publisher, to be produced anonymously." A little later he says that it "has met with some success;" adding, "I should send you a copy if I knew how, although it is on the other side of the question. Politics are violent in the extreme, party spirit runs to a frightful height, and the recent struggles for power have embittered and aggravated both sides. I say nothing of the events themselves, for you have, of course, made up your mind on them; but I can say with sincerity that our extreme opposition in politics shall not shake my esteem and regard for you."

Here is a later letter:—

"*Bath, March* 2, 1832.—I thank you for your kindly remembrance, and, believe me, I would rather have you think of me than force yourself to write when you were not in the humour. I can fully appreciate all you feel. The growing, desperate, damned restraint—the consciousness of possessing energies and character, and the hopelessness of having 'a fair field and no favour' to employ them on—I feel, like yourself, my dear doctor. I feel existence a load which I would fain be quit of were it not for some affections and future prospects. I do what I can to interest myself in what is going on around me, and I keep my mind fixed on 'the schooner plan,' to which I have dedicated myself blindly. Often and often I say to myself—Can I not bear the tedium of life till this time arrives when I shall be able to give a scope to my spirit of adventure? Sometimes this will keep me going, at others I droop and give all up in despair. I am prosing to you, but you will forgive me in consideration that I mean it only as the forerunner of a proposition to embark in the spring. Now, in the state in which I live, I feel that I am cut up root and branch; it injures my temper and destroys my health; and yet I am obliged to bear it all in silence, for if I say that I fret or pine, the fools turn on me, and say, 'You have all a man can desire: you have fine clothes and fine linen, and a soft bed and a good dinner;' as if life consisted in dangling at a woman's petticoat and fiddling and dancing.

"After this preamble you will see that I wish to put an end to this present state of being. I am aware that to carry out 'the schooner plan' I must make myself a sailor, and to make myself a seaman I must undergo much inconvenience and trouble. Now, I see no better mode of doing this than making an excursion to Greenland, fishing for whales, five or six months, and coming back in the autumn of the year. If you would go with me I should be greatly pleased, and you might get a berth as a doctor and thanks into the bargain. I could not expect to go as a mate, for I am not fit or capable of performing the duties, but I might go as a sort of under-

mate, paying a small premium to the captain or owners for making me a sailor. I am ready to do this:—laying aside the gentleman and pocketing my pride, put my hand to any work that I may be told to do, for it all goes to the furtherance of my ultimate design. Write me on the subject, and tell me when these said ships sail from your good city [Aberdeen]. If this cannot be, I think I shall go to America, North or South, I care not much which."

Whether the doctor thought the proposed plan eligible, does not appear, but it was not carried out; and in June, Brooke found a temporary scope for his energies. He writes from Penzance:—

"Your letter, my dear doctor, has followed me over the greater part of the kingdom, and reached me only a week since. You will be surprised, perhaps, to see my letter dated from this extreme town in Cornwall, but the history of my sojourn is rather a melancholy one.

"A relation of mine about two months ago was taken slightly ill, and his complaint rapidly assumed the shape of consumption. He was ordered to Hastings, in hopes of its proving beneficial to him; but he grew daily worse during a residence of three weeks at that place. Hearing of his precarious state of health, I joined him there, to see if I could be of any service to him; found him very ill indeed, and most anxious to be removed to this warm climate, and, as the medical men pronounced it his only chance, I considered that, although a desperate one, it should not be neglected. I determined, therefore, to come here with him, and accordingly we made the voyage in a yacht hired for the purpose.

"This last and only hope of stopping the progress of the disorder has failed like every other, and the poor fellow is now reduced to the lowest ebb of existence, so that his dissolution may take place any moment, and cannot be averted many days.

"You may easily imagine that I would not have taken my post at the bed-side of a dying relative of whom I know nothing, and for whom consequently I feel no affection, could I

have found any substitute; but, as the case stood, I considered it an imperative duty to do all in my power to smooth his passage to the grave, for his father is in India, and near or dear relations he has none. A short time will relieve him from his earthly sufferings, and release me from my charge of him. Such, however, is the sweetness of being able to render comfort to a fellow-creature and alleviate the distress of sickness, that I do not, nor have I at any time, regretted the task. I have only rendered to him, dear doctor, what I received at your hands, only I wish I could flatter myself it was half as well done.

"This is the history of my movements, which I have detailed at length to account to you for silence. Now this silence, like yours, could not have needed any excuse had I nothing to say to you, or no intelligence to give; but the contrary, in a small measure, being the case, I urged my excuse first. I am quite pleased to find that we both took up the same pursuit with the spring, but I do not think I have been as diligent as you. I have plucked flowers from the hedges, examined them, and found out their names, and have been quite delighted, for it is an elegant and interesting knowledge, one which adds a charm to every tiny hedge flower, and leads us with pleasure amid the quiet haunts of nature. One dear little flower I found the other day I am quite proud of: it was *Antirrhinum Cymbalaria*, the ivy-leaved snap-dragon, a beautiful little creeper. I saw it twining over the end of an old wall—I seized the prize, wreathed him round my hat and bore him home.

"I hope to hear from you shortly, for I will not allow your nonsensical plea of having nothing to say; you think and you feel, and that is good enough for a thousand letters, and I do not prize any tittle-tattle more than yourself. I cannot, as you may guess, send the pamphlet from this out-of-the-way place, but will do so whenever I go home, or to town; it will be a *post mortem* examination at all events, and a little delay will not signify. I quite forget what were the Italian books, but I think "I Promessi Sposi." I have a little 'Compendium

of English Botany,' which will be of great use to you, for therein all the Scotch plants and their situations are specified.

"I wish you were here to share our wild bachelor life, though we should have nothing to offer you in exchange for the beauties of your West of Scotland tour. Here all is barrenness, but the sea and the coast fine, and the country wild. I hate trim hedges with a flaming 'steel traps and spring guns' notice in each."

Owing in part to Brooke's influence, greater perhaps than he supposed, his friend was again appointed to the *Castle Huntley*. A letter from Ilfracombe, of August 9th, refers to this:—

"Let me shake you by the hand and congratulate you as surgeon of our good old ship, and I do sincerely hope you will get my old cabin for a domicile.

"I am in a state of disquiet and bustle and, I must add, disappointment, for I have had some thoughts of getting into Parliament, and cannot raise cash sufficient to come to the scratch for a city like Bath, otherwise I think I should have a fair chance of success. But this is the lot of humanity, and it is in vain to complain of the bitter disappointments of the world, where we are thrown, like seaweed on the ocean, to float about for a time, and then sink when we are rotten and corrupt."

In a later letter, from Linton (August 27, 1832), consolation is offered to Mr. Cruickshank, who, having given offence unwittingly in a certain quarter, was taking the discovery more to heart than Brooke thought reasonable.

"I never knew a man, my dear doctor, that judged himself so harshly as you do. You remember our long conversations on human nature, how often we used to discuss every living creature and how well we used to agree in our definitions of our shipmates. When I think on these discussions it appears almost miraculous to me how a man of your ability can so entirely be wanting in self-confidence. A smooth tongue goes a long way, as you know by my example (and yet I do not

think I am insincere), and I wish I could inspire you with a relish for *blarney*. Have a heart of hearts for the people who can understand you, and with the rest a little flattery is sufficient, or even without flattery provided you disguise that you have feelings and aspirations and meditations they have not.

"I hope you will come so as to be able to pass a month with me, at least, before your departure, for I reckon it will take you a week to be domesticated, and another week before you are quite at home. We removed from Ilfracombe to this place shortly after I wrote to you, and we are all much pleased with the change, for this spot is beautiful and retired, as beautiful as rock, woods, and water can make it. I went over to Wales a week ago, intending to stay one day, but on my arrival it turned so stormy and rainy, with the wind directly in the teeth of my return, that I could not get back till yesterday. I am going for a visit to N. Wales to shoot the poor partridges in September, and if I can find time I shall cross over to Derry to see Kennedy. I think *now* we should agree very well in politics, for I am more moderate than I was, and a great enemy to the Radicals, though a friend of the Whigs. Let me hear about the time you propose coming to England, that I may not be out of the way. . . . I am looking out for a letter from Stonhouse from Bengal, and in March shall look for his return. I am sorry to say that he has lost a sister since the death of his uncle [the Bishop of Hereford]. It is a sad thing to learn of the decease of our relatives on reaching home, and I shall therefore endeavour to convey the intelligence to him at St. Helena, *via* the Cape. God bless you! Do not allow yourself to become a prey to melancholia. I shall say nothing of my own plans till we meet. I am going somewhere, but where I know not, nor does it much signify —perhaps America."

The next letter came from Bath, November 18, 1832.

"My guilty conscience upbraids me for not answering your last sooner, but I was so involved in a life of bustle and gaiety when I received it that I could not find time or inclination to take up my pen. Jones and myself passed a

very pleasant time with Kennedy at his little box near the sea; several of his family were staying there at the same time and we enjoyed much pleasing society, and were all as gay as gay could be. I collected much information about the *Huntley*, but it has all gone out of my head again, except that she is down for a Bengal and China voyage, and that you are down in black and white as her surgeon. We—[Kennedy, another of the *Castle Huntley* band, and himself]—have talked over various schemes for the future, one or other of which we shall most likely take up with. Money, however, is the insuperable stumbling-block to any daring scheme, and if we go we must go on a humble scale.

"Our present plan is to go and take a tract of land in New Holland, and turn farmers in the back settlements, which will give us the opportunity of exploring an unknown country, and making discoveries in certainly one of the wildest and least-known quarters of the globe. I feel myself, however, disposed to buckle to anything that offers, and I only wish I had money enough to carry a letter of marque against the Dutch vagabonds in the Eastern Seas. It would be a crusade I should glory in, for though the Dutch may be very fine fellows in Europe, in Asia they certainly are blood-thirsty and oppressive tyrants. However, we must talk all these matters over when I see you at Bath."

By another letter, headed only "Dumbarton" we learn that the little box was a house without a roof, in which five and six shared the same room day and night, and that, amongst others, Harry Wright, an old shipmate, was there; that, from these eligible quarters he and Wright had crossed to Scotland, and had together, "in high feather," made a knapsack tour; that he was going to stay with Lord Blantyre, and was looking forward to seeing the doctor at any convenient place. "Meeting you on Scottish ground will be like meeting you on shipboard, and rouses all the northern blood in my veins." In a postscript to this letter is a sentence which he would never have written except to one for whom he kept his heart of hearts. "Shall I tell you what makes me happy this

evening? It is because I have performed a good action during the day!!" The notes of exclamation are his own, and answer to the playful manner which would have accompanied the words spoken.

Another letter undated, but bearing the same post-mark, "Dumbarton," touches on politics again.

"Jolly writes me he gave three cheers at the rejection of the Reform Bill. Kennedy and his brothers are all Radicals, and will groan over this blight to their hopes. For myself, I am a Reformer, because I believe Reform necessary and corruption glaring enough, but I believe also that the point when gained will disappoint most of its advocates. It is running the same course as the Catholic question, only with frightful violence. It must be conceded sooner or later, the sooner the better for those opposed to it. I should not wonder if the nation had a few pounds of blood taken from it before the question be set at rest. The Marquis of Londonderry was bled at the temple by a macadamizing stone, thrown by the hand of a dirty plebeian. Here is a political letter for thee! Dear doctor, I should like the excitement of a civil war if it did not entail evil to all we hold dear. I pray, therefore, that all pugnacious spirits may be sent to Poland or launched in a schooner for the South Sea Islands. Kennedy inclines to handle the plough instead of the helm, and I should like to put the scheme into effect. I am sure there is money to be made in the face of danger and hazard. But I believe the best thing that can happen to a man is to sleep in peace with the myriads that have preceded him and juggled for a time on the stage of life with the same vanity and love of self as himself."

In January, 1833, Mr. Cruickshank, being in London, and promising to come to Bath, is told—"You will not be bashful with us for many hours, for we are very free-and-easy people, and do not observe any elaborate ceremonies." And then, in answer probably to some remark, "My schemes may be *wildish*, but not quite visionary, as you imagine. Kennedy will go with me to Van Diemen's Land, and I feel convinced

from the enquiries I have made that that country is admirably suited for any man who desires a comfortable independence. But we will discuss this subject over brandy and water when you come. I have been hunting a little, and met with a sad accident the other day, a careless beast of a groom having thrown down my charger. I hope he will be fit for you to ride, however, very shortly.

"Write me. Tell me how you get on, etc., etc., and, believe me, when we meet we shall be as merry as a house on fire, or, as our fashion now, is *like bricks*. In the course of next week you will see a pamphlet of mine, entitled 'The Justification of our Foreign Policy towards Holland.' It is printed by Ridgeway, Piccadilly. I shall be proud to present you with a copy when you come down, and in the meantime recommend it to all your political and reading acquaintances."

This visit was also prevented by the state of Mr. Brooke's health. The old man does not seem thoroughly to have recovered the illness previously mentioned, and in February of this year he became worse, and the house was ordered to be kept as quiet as possible. This his son writes to tell his friend. It was a great disappointment, and, "under the circumstances of the case, it would be impossible for me to run up to town, and very uncomfortable for you to be in a sick house. . . . . I will write you by every opportunity to India, China, and St. Helena, and I shall think of you very often sailing away in the dear old *Huntley*, and revisiting so many of those lovely scenes which we greatly enjoyed together. Mind you go to the waterfall at Penang, and the clear pool just below it, where we bathed, and where I left my shirt hanging like a banner on the prostrate tree which lay across the stream. You will take a ride, perhaps, to the Devil's Pool, and through the glades and glens where we went shooting, and a row among the islands at Singapore, and other scenes, all which are indelibly impressed on my memory. . . . . If I do not positively regret your going, I shall greatly rejoice at your coming back. I feel proud of your good opinion, and should

be more proud still if I deserved it better, but such as I am and such as are my poor regards you may ever rest assured they will remain the same as at present.

"Let me hear from you from the old ship. Present my affectionate remembrances to her. Tell me how she looks and feels, and what sort of folk are aboard. I pity you the job of carving in the cuddy and saying pretty things to the ladies. Take care of the 'mids.' and be kind to them, as you always were, for you know the 'mids.' of the *Huntley* are under my especial care."

In April Mrs. Brooke, while still anxious about her husband, was further saddened by the loss of one of her three brothers, for whom she bore much affection. "Her sufferings on the occasion have been most poignant," James wrote to his friend, "and my love for her has caused me more grief than the demise of my uncle, for I was not well enough acquainted with him to feel very deeply. I am, however, going to town on Monday to attend his funeral, as the last mark of respect to one who, from all I know of him, was worthy of the esteem of good men."

This letter, which is a long one, is almost entirely filled with accounts of the doings and welfare of the old shipmates of the *Huntley* and other mutual acquaintances, and winds up with, "Now I shall bid you a warm good-night. Fancy I give you a hearty shake of the hand and pass off to my bed, just as you used to see me oftentimes disappear down the companion. God bless you! My pen and my heart are just warming into correspondence; not that the latter is ever cold, but, like a hackney-coach horse, it requires motion before its functions attain their wonted vigour and expression.

"*April* 13.—A few more words and I shall close this despatch. I propose enjoying a pleasant excursion this summer to the Azores. I shall get a yacht to make the voyage, and two or three of our shipmates to accompany me, and so off to Tercera. This is the only project afloat at present to keep my blood stirring, and it is all in the way of business for a future schooner."

By another letter, written also from his father's house, 1, Widcombe Crescent, Bath, we find that he went to town to Mr. Stuart's funeral, and afterwards met with several of the *Huntley* party; unexpectedly with James, or more commonly Jem Templer, who, having just reached London from a long voyage, was found by Brooke in the Glo'ster Coffee House, waiting for the mail to take him to his people at Bridport. After this, returning home to Bath, the old misery came back as before.

"My life is so monotonous and idle a one that it affords no interest or pleasure to its possessor, and nothing to communicate to others. My only reading is a parcel of trash from a circulating library, my chief recreation a little music, my only out-of-door amusement a gallop on horseback. Sometimes, indeed, I break out, and turn vicious and dispirited for a time; but it never lasts, for systematic vice is too hateful for any moderately good mind to indulge in and enjoy.

"You will see by the newspapers how we have been attacked by an influenza, similar in every respect, as far as I have been able to observe, to the one which laid us on our backs at Whampoa.

"The only other variety I know is a defence of the Roman Catholic religion by Tommy Moore. The world wonders that he should ever have had any religion at all, but it now appears that he is a firm believer in all that the Pope, the College of Cardinals, and the authorised Synods of the Orthodox, may please to tell him, because they are the true representatives of St. Peter."

These letters to Mr. Cruickshank, carefully preserved by him, and after his death by his son Mr. James Brooke Cruickshank, have been the chief source of information. They are thus supplemented by Mr. C. Kegan Paul—

"I well remember my first visit to old Mr. Brooke when James was at home, though not the date, but it must have been about 1833, for it is among my earliest recollections. None of my own family were smokers, and I remember to this day

the scent of Mr. Brooke's study where he and his son smoked often and much. I have lived with smokers a great deal since that day, but still I believe that back room of No. 1, Widcombe Crescent, Bath, to have been more impregnated with tobacco smoke than any other room has ever been since tobacco was invented. There were also strange Eastern birds, then less common than now, avadavats, and Java sparrows; and the house generally had an 'Arabian Night's' aspect to me, though it was, I think now, an ordinary study enough, *plus* the birds and the amount of tobacco. I need not dwell on James Brooke's kindness to me as a boy, except, perhaps, to mention that in his visits to me at school from time to time his presents were amazing, even in those days when a tip was always supposed to be due from the friend who visited a school-boy. It was an indication of the boundless generosity of the man which showed itself in all details. As I grew up, all that I knew of him more than came up to the ideal I had formed of him in my childhood, nor did I find that years dispelled in any degree the old halo of romance. It was a glamour which was not at all untrue: he was not only a kind and affectionate friend, but one of the best and kingliest of men."

In or about this year, 1833, it seemed as if Brooke's whole nature might be charmed into the willing loss of an adventurous future, for he became warmly attached to a lady, the daughter of a Bath clergyman. She had been at school with his sister Margaret, and these two, as girls, had felt drawn to each other. It would seem that she returned Brooke's affection, and that an engagement followed, but that, in consequence of the families on both sides seeing grounds for objection, she felt it right to break it off, and Brooke appears from this time to have taken ambition as his only bride. But through his whole life he was none the less ready to give a full sympathy, alike to women as to men, in joy and in sorrow. Mr. Kegan Paul says, "He was one of those men who are able to be the close and intimate friends of women without a tinge of love-making. To the four sisters in Mr. Kegan's household,

among whom he was brought up, he was as one of their own family circle, and was more to my mother than are even their brothers to most women. There were others, also, who were nearly on equal terms of intimacy."

Mrs. Littlehales, the only one now living of these four sisters, ends her reminiscences by—

"I have but little more to say but that he was quite charming; able apparently to do anything, and learn anything, and be anything he chose. There was only one thing wanting which often made some of us unhappy. He had not those views on religious matters which we thought could alone satisfy his needs. We hoped, however, the day would come when he would see these matters in a somewhat different light, and we hailed with great pleasure his establishment of a missionary bishop at Saráwak."

CHAPTER IV.

1834—1836.

THE "schooner plan" seems to have been a scheme for combining mercantile speculation with opportunities for adventure and discovery. Brooke, not yet seaman enough to undertake the navigation of a vessel, proposed entrusting that and, generally, the mercantile portion of the idea, to a partner; he himself bearing the cost and enjoying the discoveries. His ability to bear the expense depended on his father's good-will, and whether this could ever be gained was long doubtful. However, in February, 1834, a promising brig being heard of at Liverpool, Brooke wrote to him from London, pleading for permission and for the means to carry out his long-cherished plan. Mr. Brooke was not only in infirm health, but he was uneasy and dissatisfied at what appeared to him his son's unreasonable restlessness and needless ambition; he did not, however, directly oppose him. The sum required was moderate, and he promised to provide it, taking due care that in case of failure the loss should fall on James alone, and not on his other children. At the same time he felt, he said, very much in the dark as to the nature of the proposed scheme.

"Supposing gain by traffic to be one of your objects, I conclude you will agree with me, that about trade you are quite ignorant, and that there is no pursuit for which you are less suited. Is it the intention to plunge into the China mania? This is not trade; it is mere speculation; and, after all, are not traders for the greater part a tribe of smugglers?

The speculation has so little of the mercantile character, and is so much like a gambling concern, that I know not whether a preference is not to be given to a gaming-table."

The letter through which these expressions were scattered greeted James on his return to London from a visit of inspection at Liverpool. It was not encouraging, but meanwhile he had lost his heart to the brig, and was in a mood to be grateful for any reply that did not absolutely prevent her becoming his property. So he wrote back to his father, gratefully thanking him for the promise of the money, and adding, "I feel sure you will pay every requisite attention to my sisters' interests so as to prevent their suffering from any claim or indiscretion of mine. For myself, I can safely say, that nothing would give me greater pain than the supposition that I was likely in any way to injure them or theirs. That the voyage is a speculation I freely allow, but I cannot agree that it in any way assimilates to a gambling transaction. We shall work hard and be satisfied with small profits. I feel no avidity for undue gain, but I do wish for a knowledge of maritime affairs and of countries so interesting and so little known."

Mr. Brooke was not, however, convinced by this or by much more, and, calling to mind that his son was given occasionally to revile the India Company, and to assert that if he entered the army again, a cavalry regiment of the King's would be more befitting, his father rather maliciously begged to know in what way the rank of a master in a trading brig was more honourable or more likely to lead to distinction than that of an officer in the military service of the East India Company.

It was a home thrust, and James took refuge with his mother—if she would speak to his father he might give a more willing consent: whereon she, with a Spartan strength, keeping silent her own yearning, did as he desired, and in another letter we find him again thanking Mr. Brooke warmly, but expressing also his sorrow that the enterprise was still unfavourably regarded by him. "I trust to establish its

merit by its success, though judging after the fact is a poor proof of the reasonableness of an undertaking."

"I must now explain to you something out of the common beat," he wrote to a friend, Mr. (afterwards Colonel) Philip Goldney, on his return to Bath; "it relates to self, and self must be the burden of my song. Alas! I can safely say that this ugly, detestable creature has been a burden to James Brooke many a time and oft since we parted. He has always been bothering me in hours of restlessness, and complaining that something better might be done than kicking my heels on the *pavée*, or padding the hoof in an Indian regiment. 'A youth of folly and an age of cards' stared me full in the face, and I was ever anxious to obtain employment which should rescue me from idleness and insignificance. I turned my eyes and raised my hopes to stations above my right probably, and at any rate above my means of attaining. The House of Commons, the *attaché* to an embassy, a post in a Government office, even a commission in a good cavalry regiment, would have satisfied me once. Perhaps these aspirations were foolish, sure am I they were useless, for I continued to vegetate; and with a scarcity of friends—I should say rather a total absence—and a proportionable want of interest, I abandoned those dreams of rational advancement, and became convinced that if I intended to act it must be without assistance and on my own responsibility. My own resources were called into play, and have not failed me, for energy can and will find a field for exertion, though one perhaps replete with difficulty and danger.

"The voyage I made to China introduced me to savage life and savage nature, and I told you at the time how I longed for the adventure. What I then saw has never since left my mind, and although, had I seen any fair chance of honourable employment at home, I would not have entered on this life, I have not hesitated to do so now that I have neither friends or interest powerful enough to push me forward.

"*Me voila donc!* I have a vessel afloat, and nearly ready

for sea—a rakish slaver-brig, 290 tons burden—one that would fight or fly as occasion required, and made to pay her expenses. The Indian Archipelago, the north-east coast of China, Japan, New Guinea, and the Pacific is the unlimited sphere of our adventure. The sea is wide and deep, and, possessing courage and energy, it is strange if we cannot catch fish.

"You smile, perhaps, at my views centering in one point; but I am assured you will not deem these views so entirely visionary as do those yoked animals whose aim and whose end in life is to hoard pence and shillings. Some tell me of difficulty, some of danger, some of disappointment, and all of expense; but those who know the field agree on its capabilities and consider the project more feasible than those ignorant of the sphere of action. I have neither overlooked the certain hardship, the inevitable danger, or the probable failure, but if I were to be deterred by such fears—if Columbus, or Gama, or Cook had been deterred by them, America would be unknown, the Cape of Storms unsurmounted, the circumnavigation of the globe incomplete. Out upon it! As an ensign, either of us would have mounted a breach in the routine of barren duty, and yet are we to shrink from the terrors and the dragons that are to beset our path in a stout vessel on an unknown shore. Consider the nutshells that crossed the ocean in days of yore. Columbus sailed in a vessel, if my memory serves me, of 40 tons burden; Hudson, that intrepid navigator, penetrated into the north regions with one of 55. The gallant Sir Humphrey Gilbert commanded three craft, the largest 120, the smallest only 10 tons; and Forrest, in later times, by the orders of the Company that ruled the Eastern Archipelago from Borneo to New Guinea, in one of the same size and of native build. We might blush, indeed, if our fears outweighed our enterprise when we have such examples before us, and when we reflect on the numerous advantages we possess which they wanted. It is my firm belief that with our present knowledge of naval architecture and nautical science, that a modern navigator *could* not

undertake any scheme so bold as was that of Columbus, both in project and execution."

So the brig *Findlay*—that was her name—was bought, and laden with a miscellaneous cargo for an Eastern market. Her owner's feelings meanwhile are thus detailed to his sister Margaret—

"The future occupies most of my thoughts, and anticipation is absolute happiness in this world. My mind and body are both alive. My step is elastic, my blood gushes through my veins. I feel equal to combat either misfortune or prosperity. It is a sensation women cannot know, which they can scarce fancy in its highest extent, but which leads men onward through every difficulty.

"I wish you could see the brig lying like a thing of life upon the water, low and wicked and black—black hull, black masts, black spars—seeming ready to fly whenever the sails are hoisted. Picture to yourself the beautiful brig, and connect it with the feeling that she is our home—the gallant vessel that carries our fortunes and our persons over the wide ocean—the speck that shall greet the rising sun over the entire surface of the globe—that shall visit many a wild scene and unknown land—be gazed on by Christian and heathen—brave the tempest and enjoy the favouring breeze—and my enthusiasm will meet with some excuse.

"Yet, strange creatures that we are, were it not the hope that those I love would watch my progress, and be interested in my fate, these anticipations would fade away, and fame and fortune be valueless alike."

He expected to be absent two years. The parting was a mournful time; his father could not bear to wish him good-bye, and James, afraid of a breakdown, sadly acquiesced, and the morning of his departure from Bath to Liverpool (March 29th), wrote a farewell note, which closes with, "God bless you, dear sir. I entreat you to look cheerfully for my return, and to believe that my affectionate respect is unchanging;" and this is repeated in another letter written on sailing:

"*May* 5, 1834.—We sail to-morrow morning, the night is far advanced, and I am harassed with the labour of the past day. I trust to my friend Maurice to supply you with particulars. I have only inclination to say now, over and over again, how every fervent wish is for your health and happiness. I am sure you will watch my path with interest. I feel strongly that I have taken a step of deep responsibility, and no drop in the cup of success will be sweeter than your approbation. My energies are bent to one point, and I will endeavour to win fortune by perseverance. May every blessing be with you! I will not write a separate letter to my mother—she knows I could not say what I feel for her. You shall hear fully from me during every step of my progress. Again and again, farewell!"

And then came a pencil postscript to his mother, written the following day: "A few lines, my loved mother, before we sail. My last moments ashore are employed thinking of you and writing to you. I am exceedingly well and contented. The brig is beautiful, our crew a fine one, and things getting into proper place from the unlooked-for delay to-day. To-morrow at five we set sail. What can I say, dearest mother of love? You know my inmost heart—words are vain. M. will write to you about me, and he is about to send the likeness of the brig."

The "schooner plan" thus at last begun, was profitable only in the lessons its entire failure taught. Two of the *Castle Huntley* band joined it—Mr. Kennedy as captain, and Mr. Harry Wright. To begin with, the cargo and fittings much exceeded the estimate Brooke had received and agreed to, the reason being that Mr. Kennedy and himself had different views both as to the object of the enterprise and the way of attainment. The two men were not fitted to pull together. The Captain's system of discipline irritated the crew almost to the point of mutiny, and Brooke had many worries small and great, disappointments, and disagreements, that culminated at last in an open quarrel. In a letter to Mr. Cruickshank, dated May 30, 1835, he tells his tale simply and manfully.

"The story you want is a long one, and coming from one of the parties concerned must be partial; but I can say that I do not think on the whole that the blame of any disagreement rests on me, though you well know when men quarrel ill blood and bad passions awake, and both sides become faulty to a certain degree."

Then comes the history of the various misunderstandings, needless to repeat, and of the quarrel. Up to this he thinks he had been quite right; but, "The next step I lost myself, and made a bad move, and was very very wrong." Under provocation of a kind especially difficult for one of his nature to bear, a wild Berserker rage took from him for some minutes all self-control. "I never got over this passion," he writes sadly. "It was Kennedy's handle upon me on every subsequent occasion. . . . I give you all this in detail. I know it is very paltry and very pitiful, but I cannot convey my case without it. My evil and my good natures battled together. Kennedy was in my power, a poor man; I was independent; the loss of what I had staked would lose his all. I meditated letting the brig lie and rot in China, but somehow the devil did not get the ascendency. I went to Macao, better thoughts possessed me, a violent reaction took place, and I had the satisfaction of leaving Kennedy as well if not better off than when he commenced the enterprise." In a later letter he adds, "I was not so unhappy or uncomfortable as you imagine during my voyage; sometimes driven savage; but I felt I was right, and that I was respected by those about me. Besides, I worked hard."

"In looking back to my voyage in the *Findlay*," he writes elsewhere, "I find some drops to sweeten the cup of disappointment and failure. The project was in itself bold and hazardous. The description of vessel made it necessary to obtain returns very different from the ordinary routine of trade; and from the debt carelessly incurred at her outfit this necessity was increased sevenfold. It could only be effected in two ways: the first was obtaining employment under a firm (like Jardine and Matheson's) who could pay an

extraordinary price for an extraordinary vessel. The second and bolder scheme was laying in a mixed cargo, such as opium, muskets, gunpowder, broadcloths, hatchets, etc., and dashing into the Straits to seek vast returns in rich remote countries, amid barbarous or half-civilized people. The latter plan was more consonant with my views; the former, after a while sailed, appeared the limit of my companion's ambition. Success, however, was in any case extremely doubtful, and I had no opportunity of carrying either of these plans into execution; but from the first I never disguised from myself the hazardous nature of our voyage, and, though sanguine enough to enter upon it, I was prepared to sacrifice the sum embarked without repining or regret. Our personal differences brought our project to a premature close, and we were mutually glad to sell the vessel at a loss after a brief partnership, marked by mismanagement on one side, and inexperience on the other.

"The voyage, though so complete a failure, was a school of rough and bitter experience, and put my taste for a sea life to the severest test. My desire, nevertheless, remained unaltered, to pursue the same path, but upon a different plan. The original project, advantageous or otherwise, was never fairly tried, but though the best in my power to embrace, it was not calculated well for my principal object of research and discovery. Under the most favourable circumstances, the hurry and interests of trade must be opposed to the delays of inquiry. Were I once more to embark in the *Findlay*, I could only pursue the plan originally laid down, and carry the two objects into execution as far as they were consistent. Were I to sail on an entirely fresh expedition, with requisite means, I should profit by my hard-earned experience, and make the following important alterations:—

"In the first place, I should choose a smaller, snugger vessel. In the second, I should banish trade as interfering with the main end of the voyage; and, thirdly and chiefly, retain the whole and sole authority in my own hands. By the first, the outgoings would be reduced and security in-

creased. Trade has not only a direct influence, but exercises indirectly the worst drawbacks against success. It places a gentleman in a false and difficult position, and arms against him the whole body of European merchants in the various ports, for it is difficult for them to conceive that a trader has not some sinister view, and as a consequence they withhold all their local information and local assistance."

Once more in England, and the old longing for action unsatisfied, a little yacht of seventeen tons, the *Eliza*, was bought for cruising about the southern coast; and Mrs. Johnson bringing all her children to Seaton, as many pleasant family parties and excursions were made as a continuance of bad weather allowed. In Septembér, Brooke writes to this sister from Jersey—

"I am almost tired, darling, of sailing for this summer, and shall lay up my yacht about the beginning of October, and betake myself to Widcombe [Crescent, Bath], for a few months' dull repose. I shall come to Lackington for the Christmas holidays. . . . I hope my children are all well and all good, and getting on with their 'larning.' You may assure Johnny that I shall expect to hear of his translation to a higher form or class at Christmas. I have a few shells for the three young ladies, to wit, Mary, Harriet, and Anna: not playthings, but delicate little shells, with which ladies are wont to employ their leisure hours. They come from Herm, a small island about a mile across, where there is a beach consisting of these shells."

To Mr. Cruickshank the weariness is expressed more strongly in a letter written from Southampton, September 28, 1835, in which he also touches on the doctor's approaching marriage—

"My boating season is over, and I am weary of it, for indeed it is like drinking milk-and-water after being accustomed to brandy, a poor resource to drive away the tedium of idleness. I envy you. I envy everybody who has anything to do that keeps gloom out of the head and the devil from the heart. As you acquire new ties you will have fresh stimulus

for exertion. I wish you very very happy; a smiling wife and a blazing fire to welcome you on your return from a long ride, cannot fail to make you so. I have just returned from Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and Sark. Sark is quite a little wild weather-beaten isle, that interested me more than either of its cultivated sisters.

"I should like much to gallop over the moors with you at Elgin—it would do the soul and body of me a vast deal of good."

A plan of going to Scotland for his friend's wedding, and of there taking an obscure cottage, and burying himself in it "to be a dormouse for the winter," was stopped by Mr. Brooke's increasing illness, and November 16th he wrote from Bath to his sister Emma Johnson, tenderly breaking to her that their father's case was pronounced hopeless, and even a temporary rally doubtful. The letter is full of thoughtfulness. He knew that her impulse would be to come at once, and that the excitement might hurt her, and be injurious to the dying man. He describes his father as unable to bear any one in his room except their mother, who, fully aware of his state, and suffering in his suffering, bore herself nobly.

Mr. Brooke's death took place not long after. The following letter, written by his son to Mary Anna Johnson, the eldest of the girls at Lackington Vicarage, is dated from Bath, December 30, 1835—

"Your kind letter has given me much pleasure, and I am glad to say that I shall be with you at Lackington this day week—that is, next Wednesday, when I hope I shall have a little party waiting to walk with me from Ilminster. Of course, if you wish it, I shall be delighted to have you to join our studies every morning, and we must get some subject which is both interesting as well as instructive, to fix our attention, besides the general course of learning. I think the first principles of Natural Philosophy would attract you, as there are many curious and very simple facts, easily remembered, that show and explain objects every day under our observation. I am sure if you could see the experiments

you would all be very much amused, but by learning a little of the subjects first, you will be more ready in understanding when you hear any lectures on the subject. I told Johnny, and I must now tell you again, that I was much gratified at your having left Miss Baker's [a school at Ilminster] as the first girl of the first class. I know you have too much good sense to be vain of the distinction or of the compliments which you receive in consequence; but it is always a matter of proper and honest pride to have done well. The more we learn the more we feel we have got to learn, for a person who is ignorant may think himself very wise, but a person who has learned a little must know how much more there is to be learned. You must remember, too, that it is not learning that makes persons wise, but the use they make of their learning. You might, for instance, know half a dozen languages, be able to draw well, and play beautifully on the piano—you might be a good arithmetician, and be acquainted with mathematics—yet, with all this, be a silly woman; for languages are of no use except to convey to your mind the wisdom of others, which, to be of any use to you, you must reflect and think upon so as to enlarge your own mind. Music and drawing are the elegant recreations which fill our leisure hours, and greatly refine and elevate our tastes. Poetry is the same. Arithmetic keeps our common accounts of money, but arithmetic and mathematics are the language of science, and applied to wonderful subjects. For instance, it is no use knowing what an angle is, but through this simple piece of learning properly applied, the sailor is able to find his way across the sea, and the philosopher is able to measure the distance between the earth and the moon or the sun. And last of all, my dear girl, there is nothing better for young people than exercise of the body, for unless our bodies are healthy our minds seldom remain strong; so we will run races, take long walks, and play many other pranks, all for the good of our minds and bodies. I dare say Charley and Freddy will delight in this branch of education, and learn as well as the best wise men in Europe. I hope

you will all get your seven-leagued boots ready by the time I come down;—Charley the Racer, and Freddy Go-lightly, and Miss Harriet the Nimble, and Miss Emma the Beginner, and Miss Moggy the Tumbler! Tell dear Harrie that I should like to have a letter from her; and mind, I do not say you shall not write with lines if you like them, but only that I want you to write easily to yourselves, and just to put in your letter all you would say if I were sitting at your elbow. Anna was quite disappointed that you did not say anything about coming here, for she is very anxious to have your company. She wants to come with me to Lackington, but I should be half afraid to bring her for fear she should think too much about her mamma, as she has not been accustomed to go away by herself. I have ordered a new black doll for her, but she does not know anything about it, and it is to be put into the cradle to surprise her. She went into Bath the other day, and bought a doll for herself; but it is so ugly that she hates it, and I have named her Miss Blowsabella Foscofornia Squabb. Love to dear papa, mamma, Johnny, Harrie, Racer, Go-lightly, etc."

It is impossible to do full justice to Miss Blowsabella's surname. This letter has been carried by its owner into many lands, and though Squabb is not poetical, it is all that white ants have been willing to respect.

By Mr. Brooke's will his property was divided, after provision for his widow, in equal shares between all his children; and the £30,000 that fell to his son James was unfettered by claims of any kind. He was in every sense free to make what use of it he might choose. In March, 1836, he wrote to Mr. Cruickshank from London—"very weary of this Babylon, and nothing interested in anything going on." He hoped to persuade his mother to leave Bath to try what country air would do for her health and spirits, and he himself had grown to dislike the place.

"I am in treaty," he continues, "for a schooner of 142 tons burden, which I propose shall carry me round the world. I cannot lead this life of perfect idleness to which I am

doomed, and I am not one to carve out that which, when accomplished, might as well have been left undone."

The purchase of the yacht was concluded, and the *Royalist* (that was her name) becomes from this time an almost living actor in the story. A cruise to the Mediterranean was next decided on, and John Brooke Johnson, the eldest son at Lackington Vicarage, invited by his uncle to join the party. "In dear Johnny's letter I told him what I expected he would do, and what not do. Give him the letter and let him answer it," is the way the subject is referred to in a letter to Mrs. Johnson, of June 3rd.

In October there came a long account from Malta (September 30th) to Mary Johnson and her sisters, of sights and sounds. The travellers had stopped at Malaga, and, leaving the yacht, had ridden to Grenada.

"Johnny went with us, mounted on a very nice Spanish horse. The road was very bad, and it took two days to reach the place. The second day we were fourteen hours in the saddle, and in the evening had an alarm of banditti. It was just getting very dark, our horses were so tired that they stumbled at every step, and their riders were not much better, when we reached a most dreary and desolate pass through some mountains. Dark, gloomy-looking masses of rock hung over the path, the very loosening of which would have crushed us, and behind which any number of banditti could have hid themselves. Our guide made us halt at the entrance of this defile, and said in a whisper that the banditti were out in the hills, and therefore we must not speak. He ordered us to keep together and ride as fast as the road and the tired condition of our nags would permit; we did so, and escaped that time from being robbed and carried up in the mountains. We were very glad to see the lamps of the city of Granada as we descended to its plain, and more glad still to get to a comfortable inn. Nothing can be more beautiful than the Moorish Alhambra, which your ladyships, I dare say, know was once the famous fortress and palace of the Moorish conquerors and kings of Granada. The part which remains is

the summer palace, and considering the little care formerly bestowed upon it, it is very perfect. It consists of several courts, from which open numerous halls and apartments. The Court of Lions is the most perfect and most beautiful. The space within is laid out with shrubs and flowers, and in the centre stands the fountain from which it takes its name. Twelve lions support a basin of white marble; from this basin rises a jet d'eau, and the lions at the same time spout water from their mouths. Around the court is the most light and elegant portico imaginable, which at the two extremes is extended into a pavilion supported on numerous clusters of slight white marble pillars. At the right hand, opening from the portico, is the Hall of the Abencerrages; it is paved with white marble, and has a fountain in the middle. All these halls are more beautiful than I can describe. The walls are covered with ornaments and Arabic inscriptions, and the arches wrought into delicate fretwork like icicles. The roofs and cornices are covered with gold and enamel, or dropping like the beautiful stalactites we see in natural caverns. I must tell you the rest about this lovely palace when we meet, or otherwise it will fill all my letter."

CHAPTER V.

1837—1838.

THE cruise came to an end in June, 1837, and the account of the return home is given in a letter to Mrs. Johnson, from the Motherbank, off Ryde.

"We are in very bad luck, being detained in quarantine on foolish and frivolous pretences pending a reference to the Privy Council. . . . However impatient, we must submit, but whilst we submit we grumble and remonstrate day by day. Our passage was long and not very pleasant, in consequence of strong contrary winds. We passed a few days at Gibraltar, and then came home in nine days with a fine breeze. I thought that had you known that your boy was scudding home at the rate of ten and eleven knots an hour before a fresh gale, and afterwards that he was poking his way blindfold up Channel in a dense fog, you would have had but little rest at night or quiet by day. Here he is, however, safe and sound, and ready to be made over to your arms directly the Privy Council allows him. Johnny is sure some of you will come to fetch him and travel home in his sweet company. If we have forty days' quarantine the best thing you could do would be to come to Ryde and allow us mutually to grin at each other through telescopes. I have no news, and other letters to write, so I hand this over to Johnny to put a finishing touch. Ever and ever your affectionate brother and most unhappy prisoner not to command—J. BROOKE."

The "finishing touch," in a boy's hand, is—"We sent a

boat ashore (at Cowes) to inquire about the quarantine. They ordered us to the Motherbank, and to our surprise they detained us because we had a few paltry skins aboard, which we bought at Smyrna. The Quarantine Master has applied to the Privy Council for orders. Uncle James has written to his agent in town to represent our case in the most favourable way possible. You may fancy how dull it is being cooped up for so long with the same scene every day. It is as bad as being at school. Uncle James is taking every means to get redress, but hope delayed maketh the heart sick."

A description of the wandering was sent by Brooke to Mr. Cruickshank on July 6th.

"Have you heard or can you guess where I have been? Spain, Greece, Turkey, Europe, Asia and Africa, all of which are combined in a very limited space in the Mediterranean. I have visited the most interesting places in the world, and made a cruise of a novel and classic nature on the coast of Asia Minor. We sailed in the winter to visit all the remains of the cities of the Ionian and Carian Leagues, amongst them Ephesus, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Rhodes. We found statues, carried away inscriptions, broke open tombs, traced temples, etc., etc., all in a country as wild as even *I* could desire. It is impossible to write all these things in a letter, but you shall, *if you care*, and if you will take the trouble, read my bookie upon these matters. Even in that land, so close to civilized Europe, we penetrated into places quite unknown to modern times and modern charts.

"Let me now enquire about your doings. Is your lady in health, and are you prosperous? How has the last year used you? Are you getting old? You must answer all these questions as soon as your more serious avocations will allow. I am now, you must know, at Southampton, laying up my darling schooner, the pride of my foolish heart, and the light of my eyes. I never, till my return, felt what it was to have my household gods disturbed, but the *Royalist* has been my home and a happy one. We were very happy, and went chirping like grasshoppers from place to place. Wright owns

himself a convert to *my system* of discipline. I have found it eminently successful as far as making men content and cheerful, and having their hearts and best energies in your favour. Almost all the same lads sail with me next year. If I was rich I would not discharge them; as it is, I get them berths in yachts and take them again in autumn. My next year's cruise I will spare you till we meet—it is the old thing over again. I have just read a work by a Mr. Earl, who visited but the hem of Borneo. *Nous verrons tout cela.*"

A visit to Scotland occupied part of this summer, and in October he was at White Lackington, "perplexed with family arrangements, irritated by small matters. This is the sum total of my existence," he writes to Mr. Cruickshank, "and you would not thank me at any time if I were to expand these matters to your comprehension. All families must have on occasions wheels within wheels which cannot interest our friends, but are especially reserved for the annoyance of all proud and uncompromising spirits. . . . I propose proceeding to the Great Babylon the commencement of November, and there to place myself in training, bodily and mental, for my meditated voyage. I find the intermediate time dreary enough, and what I shall do with the future it is difficult to tell. I have been reading books and books of religion, of bold and daring inquirers, and it proves to me that religion so-called is a very different thing from religion formed on inquiry and based on Scripture. The human mind is so feeble and so unwilling to decide for itself, so prone to bigotry and superstition on one side and infidelity on the other, because these extremes are inculcated, that the moderate and rational course finds few admirers."

The long-planned expedition—Eastward Ho!—that came to so untimely an end in the *Findlay*, now began to revive in a happier form. Writing again to Mr. Cruickshank, Nov. 6th, Brooke says—

"With the means I have I look upon success in my projected voyage as very doubtful, but still I embark with cheerfulness on the ocean of waters, and the tracts of

unknown lands, on the chance of what they may produce. Though more expensive, it is better than the interior of Africa or the civil broils of S. America, and under any circumstances the life is one of excitement, of peril, and of hardship. I will not treat you to any more of this subject, but, as it is one which occupies my thoughts and pervades my actions, I cannot in writing fail to mention it to you. You have shown a greater interest in my fate than I deserve. You must not expect any news from me. I have no inducement here to stir out of my own room, and there I sit for hours poring over my Bible and many works connected with it, partly because I have nothing else to do, partly because it is the duty of every man to enquire and judge for himself, and partly because the subject interests me. N.B.—With reference to my last, read 'Paley on Sabbatical Institutions;' it contains all a man could desire. My religious goddess will not be quite naked, but she discards much of the meretricious ornament heaped on her by the zeal and ill judgment of her votaries. The Revelation is truth, but how difficult is it, comparing discussions which have arisen, to come to any doctrinal conclusion drawn from Scripture. I was all yesterday hammering over two texts."

Leaving Lackington, he settled himself, early in 1838, at Greenwich, where he could be near London while not in it. Here is his description, to Mr. Cruickshank, of Rose Cottage, Hyde Vale, and of his life there—

"My residence, be it known to you, is at Greenwich, a single and, for the locality, somewhat secluded cottage, standing in a green, and possessing a fine walnut-tree in front. Here I have collected books and chests, and spend my time in the most pleasant and peaceable manner. My studies relate entirely to the field of my future exertions. I have collected every known particular of the various islands of the Archipelago, in order to enable me to supply what is deficient. I thank you for your kind opinions respecting my fitness to conciliate the natives of wild countries. I am inclined to think that constant preconcerted arrangements against treachery should always exist, but no unnecessary show of them be made; being

ready for defence, your manner is always more frank and open than when the means only occur with the necessity."

The final departure was to have taken place in September, but on October 30th Brooke wrote to Mr. Cruickshank, from South Broom House, near Devizes, where his mother was living in the home of her youngest daughter Mrs. Savage—

"Circumstance after circumstance has caused delay after delay in my departure, and a series of important events seemed purposely to intervene between my intention and its fulfilment. I always intended to write you a final letter, and I trust you may consider this such, though, like a selfish creature, I choose the time when I am suffering under great anxiety, and feel the mere act of penning this a slight alleviation and distraction. You shall hear my history. Towards the conclusion of the summer I was seized with a violent fit of illness which threatened my existence and greatly weakened me. Directly I picked up a little, I sent *Royalist* to London to fit out and victual for her voyage. She was run into by a Dutchman, and injured; and on the occasion the master whom I had appointed to succeed the one I lost, behaved in so cowardly a manner that I discharged him as utterly unfit for my purpose. Once in London, everything was well done and fitted—a new master procured, a capital crew, instruments of all sorts, and a gentleman who had served with Captain Fitzroy for five years on his South American survey had resolved to accompany me. In the pride of my heart I could say I do not think a more complete expedition could have been formed on the same scale.

"On Thursday *Royalist* dropped down the river; on Friday sailed for Southampton, with John Templer and four other gentlemen, his friends, aboard. I came here intending to join her at Southampton. On Saturday it blew strong from the S.W. Sunday was nearly calm all day, but on Sunday night about eleven a storm burst here and raged for several hours, which has filled me with unquiet and dismay. Trees are torn up in our own grounds, part of the hot-houses carried away, and the devastation around is general. I am more uneasy, dear

doctor, than I can express—friends, followers, crew, vessel, all at stake, and I obliged to rest in uncertainty, cursing my folly for being here, longing to share their fate whatever it may be, forced to conceal my feelings. This letter is the greatest relief, the expression serves to calm me and allay the violent state of irritability I labour under. Every post's delay without intelligence will heighten my apprehension, and to-morrow or the day following I shall start, at all events for Southampton, and if necessary put to sea in a pilot boat. I cannot despatch this in its present state, but must detain it till something more certain for good or evil turns up. God bless you for awhile, and ever believe me, in fortune or woe, your affectionate friend—J. Brooke.

"P.S.—The prospectus of my voyage was published in the *Athenæum* paper of October 13th. Pray read it. I have received much flattering attention and kindness from many. The Admiralty placed all their charts and books at my disposal. The British Museum offered me every assistance, etc., etc. All for what? It is madness to me to take a dark view of the subject.

"31*st*.—All is right. The storm has ravaged right and left, but spared my hopes. *Royalist* rode out the gale in the Downs, but I have heard no particulars. You shall hear again, and if you will write to me, Post Office, Plymouth, by return of post, I shall get your letter, and answer. Such a weight is off my mind. I am sure grey hairs will sprout from the anxiety I have suffered—anxiety much greater than had I been there sharing the danger and the risk."

The promised farewell letter was written from London, November 14, 1838—

"I received your kind letter at Southampton, and in the meantime had written to you from South Broom. I was very anxious about the poor vessel and those in her, after the tremendous hurricane of the 29th of October. Since then she has been buffeted about in severe weather, and has at last taken refuge in Ramsgate, where I intend she shall remain until it is more settled and favourable. Your letter afforded

me the highest gratification, for nothing is so awakening to the heart as the expression of feelings from friends I value—as I value you, dear doctor. You may believe me that there is nothing in the chapter of change or chance which will ever cloud my esteem and affection for you. I go, it is true, on a voyage of difficulty and danger. If the worst befalls, I am sure I have friends who will cherish the remembrance of me for 'auld lang syne.' For my temperament and mode of thinking, there is nothing which makes prolonged life desirable, and I would fain be doing something to add to the amount of good and happiness, especially in the way of life suited to my wild habits, wild education, and ardent love for an undue degree of personal freedom.

"I will often think of you and your peaceful home, in some of the distant isles of the sunny climes. Could I carry my vessel to places where the keel of European ship never before ploughed the waters—could I plant my foot where white man's foot had never before been—could I gaze upon scenes which educated eyes had never looked on—see man in the rudest state of nature—I should be content without looking to further rewards. I can, indeed, say truly that I have no object of personal ambition, no craving for personal reward; these things sometimes flow attendant on worthy deeds or bold enterprises, but they are at best but consequences, not principal objects."

There was yet a little more delay, and then a favourable wind set in, and from Devonport, December 16, 1838, the *Royalist* stood out to sea, and the great adventure was begun.

The prospectus of the voyage, drawn up this summer at Greenwich and elsewhere, appeared in part in the *Athenæum*, and in the form of an abstract in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, before Brooke's departure. With reference to it, he wrote, August 14, 1838:—

"Knowing how entirely we are the creatures of circumstance, and how little any plans, however well digested, can be carried into execution amid wild men and wild countries, how subject they must be to modification and alteration,

rather disheartens me from laying down *a priori* any rule of thumb project; but, on the other hand, it shall be done in a measure, subject, of course, to these conditions, as the very reflection on the subject is good for me, and the details interesting to my friends."

The manuscript now left behind in Mr. J. C. Templer's charge, was published by him entire, in 1853, with a selection of his friend's letters. It is, however, given here again, almost in full:—

EXPEDITION TO BORNEO,

PROPOSED BY JAMES BROOKE, ESQ.

Borneo—in the language of the natives, Bruné—Celebes, Sulu, the Moluccas, and the islands of the Straits of Sanda and Banca, compose what is commonly called the Malayan group, and the Malays located on the sea-shore of these and other islands, may with certainty be classed as belonging to one nation. It is well known, however, that the interior of these countries is inhabited by various tribes, differing from the Malays and each other, and presenting numerous gradations of imperfect civilization.

The Dyaks of Borneo, the Arafuras of New Guinea, and others, besides the black race scattered over the islands (objects here, as elsewhere, of traffic), present an interesting field of inquiry; and it is surprising, whilst our acquaintance with every other portion of the globe, from the passage of the Pole to the navigation of the Euphrates, has greatly extended, we know scarcely anything of these varieties of the human race beyond the bare fact of their existence, and remain extremely ignorant of the geographical features of the countries they inhabit.

It is not my object to enter into any details of the past history of the Malayan nations, but I may refer to the undoubted fact that they have been in a state of deterioration since we first became acquainted with them; and the records of our early voyagers, together with the remains of antiquity still visible in Java and Sumatra, prove that once flourishing

nations have now ceased to exist, and countries once teeming with human life, are now tenantless and deserted. The causes of such lamentable changes need only be alluded to, but it is fit to remark that whilst the clamour about education is loud, and extravagant dreams are entertained of the progressive advancement of the human race—a large tract of the globe has been gradually relapsing, and allowed to relapse, into barbarism.

Whether the early decay of the Malay states, and their consequent demoralization, arose from the introduction of Mohammedanism, or resulted from the intrigues of European ambition, it were useless to discuss; but we are very certain that the policy of the Dutch has, at the present day, reduced this "Eden of the Eastern wave," to a state of anarchy and confusion, as repugnant to humanity as it is to commercial prosperity.

Enough is known of the harshness of this policy, and there is no need of here contrasting it with the energetic, successful, though ill-supported sway of Sir Stamford Raffles—but it is the indirect influence which it exerts that has proved so baneful to the Archipelago, under the assumed jurisdiction of this European power. Her unceasing interference in the concerns of the Malay governments, and the watchful fomenting of their internal dissensions, have gradually and effectually destroyed all rightful authority, and given rise to a number of petty states, which thrive on piracy and fatten on the slave trade. The consequent disorganization of society arising from these causes has placed a bar to commercial enterprise and personal adventure, and has probably acted on the interior tribes much in the same way as this fatal policy has affected the Malays.

The policy of the British in the Indian Archipelago has been marked by vacillation and weakness. The East India Company, with a strong desire to rival the Dutch, aimed at doing so by indirect and underhand means, and shrunk from the liberality of views and bold line of conduct, which was perhaps inconsistent with their position and tenure of autho-

rity. It was in vain that Sir Stamford Raffles urged on them a line of conduct, which, had it been pursued, must eventually have insured the ascendency of the British over the space from Borneo to New Holland, and have linked her colonies in the East by a chain of posts from the northern part of India to the southern extremity of Van Diemen's Land. The timidity of the Company and the ignorance or indifference of the then existing governments, not only neglected to carry this bold project into execution, but sacrificed the advantages already acquired, and, without stipulation or reserve, yielded the improving Javanese to the tender mercies of their former masters. The consequences are well known; all the evils of Dutch rule have been re-established, and the British watchfully excluded, directly or indirectly, from the commerce of the islands.

It is true that the settlement of Singapore has attracted a large portion of the native trade to its free port, and has become, from its happy situation, in some measure an emporium for Straits' produce; but, with this single commercial exception, our loss of footing and political influence in the Archipelago is complete, and our intercourse with the natives has gradually become more restricted. We may sum up these remarks by taking a brief survey of the present position of the Archipelago. The Dutch are masters of a large tract of New Guinea at one extreme, and at the other have possessed themselves of the coast of Borneo, extending from the western boundary of Borneo Proper to the southern limit of Matan. A glance at the chart will show that they have stations of more or less importance connecting these points, and that Java and their settlement on Sumatra give them exclusive command of the Straits of Sunda. It may likewise be here observed that their territorial extension is only limited by their desires, for as there is no check from European nations, a title to possession is too readily acquired from distracted and contending native governments.

But the position of the Dutch nation in the "Far East," though apparently so imposing, is in reality far from strong,

and their power would easily sink before the vigorous opposition of any European country.

Java, exhausted and rebellious, submits, but remembers the period of British possession. The wild Battas of Sumatra successfully repel the efforts of the Dutch to reduce them. The Chinese of the southern part of Borneo are eager to cast off the yoke of masters who debar them every advantage, and would fain, were it in their power, exact a heavy tribute. Their possessions in New Guinea are nominal rather than real, and their older settlement of the Moluccas, fallen in value, can scarcely be supposed to compensate for the sacrifice of men and money caused by their narrow-minded views and ill-directed efforts. The Dutch are strong enough to defy any native power directed against them, but their doubtful title and oppressive tenure would, as I have before said, render the downfall of their rule in the Archipelago certain and easy before the establishment of a liberal government and conciliating policy.

Of the Malays, it is sufficient here to remark that they have ceased to be powerful, and that their distracted and disorganized state renders it dangerous for friends or strangers to trust themselves in their hands; but their hatred of the Dutch is unbounded, and there is no reason to think that any insuperable obstacle would be met with in the formation of a strong legitimate government amongst them.

Our recent knowledge of the position of the native states is so circumscribed, however, that it is difficult to say much on this subject.

The Bugis, the traders of the islands, and their hardiest and most enterprising race, are checked and hampered by Dutch restrictions, and this remark, applying most forcibly to them, is true of the whole trading interests, and renders all alike inveterately hostile to the Dutch.

It may be fairly concluded from the foregoing remarks that the injury done to British interests by the cession of Java and the consequent loss of power, has been greatly counterbalanced by the misrule of the Dutch since their

undisputed re-establishment. The field is again open, therefore, to any nation desirous of rivalling Holland, and little doubt can be entertained of the success of such an effort if carried on by a course of policy and conduct the reverse in every respect of that pursued by the present monopolists. The fact must be always borne in mind that the Dutch are masters of the Archipelago, *only* because no other nation is willing to compete with them, and although any attempt by another power might, and would doubtless be watched with the greatest anxiety and distrust, and every opposition direct and indirect be levelled against it, yet it could not be considered any infringement of acknowledged right or actual possession.

A liberal system, indeed, recommended by mutual advantage, would assuredly triumph over any local opposition, if not obstructed by European interests; nor is there any great reason to apprehend such a probability, unless, going from one extreme to another, we should attempt hostility to regain what was foolishly thrown away.

The subject may be divided under two heads, viz., Territorial Possession and Commercial Prosperity; and these appear so intimately blended, that the second is greatly dependent on the first; for it must be remembered that Sir Stamford Raffles, the highest authority on this point, has pronounced that no purely commercial settlement can succeed in the Archipelago, and has attributed the numerous failures which have occurred to a lack of knowledge of the country and the non-possession of territory.

Many arguments might be urged, and many reasons given, to show the entire justice of this opinion, but it will be sufficient to state that where a native population exists, and is rightly governed, an influence is insensibly acquired and strengthened, not only over those immediately protected, but also over the neighbouring tribes, and that on the occasion of any disturbance or collision with other powers, the means of resistance or the punishment of aggression are at hand. A commercial post, on the contrary, though advantageously

situated, is liable to the fluctuations and distractions of its neighbours, its means of attack or defence are necessarily limited, and whilst it fails to command respect, the natives are rather injured than benefited by its existence.

The chief consideration, however, seems to be that territorial power is constantly opening new sources of traffic and extending those already established, by disembarrassing trade of the intermediate clogs which tend to limit exports, from the small amount of benefit to the original dealer, and to lessen the demand, from the increased price attendant on passing through various hands.

For these and many other causes which readily occur, it would seem that territorial possession is the best if not the only means by which to acquire a direct and powerful influence in the Archipelago; but any government instituted for the purpose must be directed to the advancement of the native interests and the development of native resources, rather than by a flood of European colonization, to aim at possession only, without reference to the indefeasible rights of the Aborigines.

On the second head, viz., the Commercial Prosperity, nothing need be added save that, being dependent on the right working of the first principle, it must unavoidably in its progress present a striking contrast to the commercial monopolies of the Dutch, and be the means of bringing the English merchant in contact with the original native dealer.

In a political view, the contiguity of the islands to our possessions in New Holland and India, and the command over China, are sufficiently apparent; and commercially, it would only be necessary to quote their productions to prove their value. The difficulty of once more placing our interests on a footing worthy a great nation is no doubt considerable, but apt to be greatly overrated; as the unpopularity of the Dutch, and the weakness of the native states, would insure success to an establishment aiming at sufficient results by slow but steady means. The question, indeed, is not one embracing the acquisition of territory, but its *occupation*—viz., whether England shall claim and improve lands she

holds by as good a title as any the Dutch can show, and whether, doing so, she shall use the full ascendency of her national position to extend her commerce, and distribute her manufactures, among a people who have always, when permitted, shown their craving for mercantile adventure?

A strong government established in Malludu Bay, a British territory, capable of extension, and possessing internal resources, having sufficient authority to cultivate a good understanding with the native governments and spread inferior posts over the Archipelago as opportunities offered, would effect this object, and, without infringing upon the claims of any foreign state, insure a commercial footing on a scale never yet developed in this portion of the world. Malludu Bay, situated at the northern extremity of Borneo, has been mentioned as best adapted for the purpose in view, on several accounts.

1st. It is a British possession.

2nd. There is no great Malay or Bugis settlement in its vicinity.

3rd. It is the place where, in all probability, a direct intercourse may be held with the Dyaks of the interior.

4th. The position relative to China is advantageous.

5th. It forms the western limit of the Archipelago, and our new settlement at Port Essington bounds it to the eastward. The climate and soil are well spoken of: a river flows into the bay, and is reported to communicate with the lake of Kina Balu, and the mountains in the interior—one of very considerable elevation. Above all, however, the natives are reported to be docile and easily taught. The servants of the Company attached to their settlement of Balambangan were decided in opinion that this bay was far preferable in every respect to the station chosen and subsequently abandoned.

Supposing these advantages to be as above stated, yet it would scarcely authorize any active steps being taken without a more accurate knowledge than we at present possess of the particular locality, and of the states in its vicinity. It is to this point that I would direct attention, remarking, however,

that although Malludu Bay should on inquiry be found to be unfit for the purposes of colonization, yet the general view of our policy remains unaffected, as it would be only necessary to obtain a suitable place.

With a settlement at each extremity of the Archipelago, we could readily protect the trade of the natives, and obtain minor posts, and free-trade ports, whence the best principles of commerce and good government might be disseminated, and our interests best promoted, by the general prosperity of the countries under our sway, or in our own vicinity. It is scarcely necessary to say more on this subject, but before closing these remarks I cannot help adverting to the colony at Port Essington.

The former settlement, which existed in the immediate neighbourhood of Port Essington, was after a trial (of a few years) abandoned as useless, and the same difficulties which checked the progress of the first will probably impede the present colony.

It was a striking feature of this settlement, that the natives, though frequenting the coasts to the northward of New Holland, seldom if ever visited or offered to trade with the settlement. This has, I know, been attributed to the natives being ignorant of the existence of the place, but this reason appears to me improbable in the highest degree, and we may, with more justice, surmise the cause to be—our utter disinclination and local inability to protect traders from the consequences attendant on a breach of Dutch regulations. This conjecture gathers confirmation from the fact that the inhabitants of the Eastern portion of the Archipelago are not addicted to maritime adventure, being supplied by the traders of the Western Islands with such articles of European or Chinese manufacture as are suited to their tastes. The Bugis vessels that frequent the north coast of New Holland chiefly carry on the trade with the Arafura group, and it is evident that, going and returning from this voyage, they are at the mercy of the Dutch cruisers. Is it probable then, that the Dutch would allow an intercourse with a British settlement,

which it was in their power to prevent? And whilst the Bugis are the carriers, is it not in the power of the Dutch to restrict and harass, if not totally to prevent, their communication with us? The natives of the Archipelago cannot look to the British for protection, but they can and do look for Dutch vengeance, and dread it.

These considerations are not urged against advantages to be derived from the possession of Port Essington, but rather as a warning against the over-sanguine expectations of its having a trade of any considerable extent whilst our relations with the Archipelago continued on their present eclipsed footing. The good to result from this colony must be looked for on the continent of New Holland, where it will probably extend and make the same progressive strides to importance as the sister colonies in the same country; but with reference to the Archipelago, its government will want authority to control the evil influence sufficiently to ameliorate the present system.

Not far distant to the westward of Port Essington is the large and fertile island of Timor, a portion of which, there is no doubt, the government of Portugal would cede willingly for the smallest equivalent, as it has been long virtually abandoned, and is utterly useless to the mother country. The size and situation would render the possession of the Portuguese frontier of this island a desirable acquisition, and the favourable opportunity may not, if allowed to pass over, again recur.

The same, indeed, may be said of Leuconia, which, offering no real benefit to Spain, would, in the hands of the English, be a lever to rule both China and the Archipelago. Rich, fertile, and blessed with a fine climate, within a few days' sail of Canton, and commanding the China Sea, it would be an unrivalled jewel in the colonial tiara of England. When our relations with China come to be settled, and settled they must shortly be, the importance of Manilla can scarcely be overrated.

Spain, distracted and torn by internal factions, and pledged to England by treaty and obligation, would readily

place Leuconia in our hands as a guarantee for the sums due, and would probably cede the possession in lieu of the claims we have on her exchequer.

For such an acquisition, the present is the time, the tide in our affairs which, taken at the flood, would lead on to fortune; and, as I have before stated that in a political point of view it is only on an extended scale that any real advantage, national or local, is to be gained, I must re-urge my conviction that it is better to leave the Archipelago in its present state until the next general war, when it will again pass into our hands, than, by contenting ourselves with paltry and insignificant stations, convey false impressions of our national importance, not easily removed from the minds of the natives.*

It has been remarked by Mr. Farquhar, that the indifference of the British Government must have originated solely from the want of information, or its correctness, since it is not improbable that the riches of Sumatra and Borneo are equal to those of Brazil and New Spain. The lapse of years has by no means weakened the force of this observation, for Borneo, Celebes, and indeed the greater portion of these islands, are still unknown, and the Government is as indifferent now to these countries, equal in riches, and superior in commercial advantages, to the New World. The apathy of two centuries still reigns supreme with the enlightened people of England, as well as their Government, and whilst they willingly make the most expensive efforts favourable to science, commerce, or Christianity in other quarters, the locality which

* I may here add a brief summary of the Dutch trading regulations:—Death was inflicted on traders in spice and opium not first brought from the Company. It was forbidden, under heavy penalties, to export or import the following articles, viz.—pepper, tin, copper, Surat silks, Indian cloths, cotton yarns of all sorts, unstamped gold, Samarang arrack, muskets, gunpowder, etc., etc. All vessels required a pass. No vessel to carry powder or shot in greater quantity than specified in the pass. No port was open to any vessel coming from the northward or the Moluccas, except Batavia. No navigation was allowed to be carried on by the vessels of Banka and Billiton, except to Palembang: no navigation from Celebes!

eminently combines these three objects is alone neglected and alone uncared for.

It has unfortunately been the fate of our Indian possessions to have laboured under the prejudice and contempt of a large portion of the well-bred community, for whilst the folly of fashion requires an acquaintance with the deserts of Africa, and a most ardent thirst for a knowledge of the usages of Timbuctoo, it at the same time justifies the most profound ignorance of all matters connected with the government and geography of our vast possessions in Hindostan. The Indian Archipelago has fully shared this neglect, for even the tender philanthropy of the present day, which originates such multifarious schemes for the amelioration of doubtful evils, and which shudders at the prolongation of apprenticeship in the West for a single year, is blind to the existence of slavery, in its worst and most exaggerated form, in the East. Not a single prospectus is spread abroad, not a single voice upraised in Exeter Hall, to relieve the darkness of paganism, and the horrors of the slave trade. Whilst the trumpet tongue of many an orator excites thousands to the rational and charitable object of converting the Jews, and reclaiming the gypsies: whilst the admirable exertions of Missionary enterprise in the Ausonian climes of the South Sea have invested them with worldly power as well as religious influence: whilst the benevolent plans of the New Zealand Association contemplate the protection of the natives by the acquisition of their territory: whilst we admire the torrent of devotional and philosophical exertion—we cannot help deploring, that the zeal and attention of the leaders of these charitable crusades have never been directed to the countries under consideration. These unhappy countries have failed to rouse attention or excite commiseration, and as they sink lower and lower, they afford a striking proof how civilization may be crushed, and how the fairest and richest lands under the sun may become degraded by a continuous course of oppression and misrule.

It is under these circumstances, I have considered that individual exertions may be usefully applied to rouse the zeal

of slumbering philanthropy, and lead the way to an increased knowledge of the Indian Archipelago.

Such an exertion will be made at some cost and some sacrifice, and I shall here quit the general topic and confine myself to the specific objects of my intended voyage. It must be premised, however, that any plan previously decided on, must always be subject, during its execution, to great modification, in countries where the population is always wild and often hostile, and where the influence of climate is sometimes fatally opposed to the progress of inquiry. Local information, likewise, frequently renders a change both advisable and advantageous, and circumstances as they spring up too often influence beyond the power of foresight, especially in my own case, where the utmost care will still leave the means very inadequate to the full accomplishment of the proposed undertaking.

With a small vessel properly equipped, and provided with the necessary instruments for observation, and the means for collecting specimens in natural history, it is proposed, in the first place, to proceed to Singapore, which may be considered the head quarters for the necessary intervals of refreshment, and for keeping open a certain communication with Europe. Here, the best local information can be obtained, interpreters procured, the crew augmented for any particular service, and, if needful, a small vessel of native construction may be added to the expedition, to facilitate the objects in view. An acquaintance may likewise be formed with the more respectable of the Bugis merchants, and their good-will conciliated in the usual mode, viz., by civility and presents, so as to remove any misconceived jealousy on the score of trading rivalry, and to induce a favourable report of our friendly intentions in their own country, and at the places where they may touch. The *Royalist* will probably reach Singapore in the month of February or March, 1839, at the latter end of the N.W. or rainy monsoon. The delay consequent on effecting the objects above mentioned, besides gaining a general acquaintance with the natural history and

trade of the settlement, and some knowledge of the Malay language, will usefully occupy the time until the setting in of the S.E., or dry monsoon. It may be incidentally mentioned, however, that in the vicinity of Singapore there are many islands imperfectly known, and which, during the interval of the rainy season, will afford interesting occupation. I allude more especially to the space between the Straits of Rhio and those of the Durien, and likewise to the island of Bintang, which, although laid down as one large island, is probably composed of small ones, a better acquaintance with which might facilitate the voyage from Singapore to the eastward by bringing to light other passages besides those of Rhio and Durien, and at any rate would add something to the knowledge of the country in the immediate vicinity of our settlement. On the commencement of the healthy season, I purpose sailing from Singapore, and proceeding without loss of time to Malludu Bay. This spot has been chosen for our first essay, for reasons previously enumerated, and in a country every part of which is highly interesting, the mere fact of its being a British possession gives it a prior claim to attention. The objects in view may be briefly mentioned :—

1st. A general knowledge of the bay, and the correct position of its various points, so as to determine its outline.

2nd. To make inquiries of the settlement of Cochin-Chinese, reported, on Earl's authority, to be fixed in the neighbourhood of Bankoka. (An intercourse will, if possible, be opened with this settlement.)

3rd. Carefully and minutely to explore the rivers which flow into the bay, and to penetrate, if practicable, as far as the lake and mountain of Kina Balu.

4th. Every endeavour will be used to open a communication with the aboriginal inhabitants, and to conciliate their good opinion. I speak with great diffidence about penetrating into the interior of this country, for I am well aware of the insurmountable difficulties which the hard reality often presents, previously overlooked, or easily overcome on the smoothness of paper, or in the luxury of a drawing-room.

The two points chiefly to be relied on for this purpose are—a friendly intercourse with the natives, and the existence of navigable rivers. It is mentioned by Sir Stamford Raffles, on native authority, that a land communication, of not more than forty miles, exists between Malludu Bay and Kina Balu, but neither this computation, nor any other derived from the natives, can be relied on, for the inhabitants of these countries are generally ignorant of any measure of distance, and their reckoning by time is so vague as to defy a moderately certain conclusion. The fact, however, of the vicinity of the lake to the bay is certain, and it follows as a reasonable inference, that the river or rivers flowing into the bay communicate with the lake. The existence of such rivers, which were from the locality to be expected, are mentioned by Captain Forrest.

Most of this north part of Borneo (he says) granted to the East India Company by the Sulus, is watered by noble rivers; those that discharge themselves into Malludu Bay are not barred. It is by one or the other of these rivers that I shall hope to penetrate as far as the lake and mountain of Kina Balu, and into the country of the Idaan. I have not been able to learn that any Malay towns of importance are situated in the bight of the bay, and their absence will render a friendly communication with the aborigines a matter of comparative ease. The advantages likely to result from such friendly relations are so evident that I need not dwell upon them, though the mode of effecting such an intercourse must be left to the thousand contingencies which govern all, and act so capriciously on the tempers of savage races. The utmost forbearance and liberality, guided by prudence, so as not to excite cupidity, appear the fundamental rules for managing men in so low a state of civilization.

The results of an amicable understanding are uncertain at its commencement, for they depend upon the enterprise of the individual and the power of the native tribe into whose hands he may chance to fall. I will therefore not enter into a visionary field of discovery, but it appears to me certain,

that, without the assistance of the natives, no small party can expect to penetrate far into a country populous by report, and in many parts thickly wooded. Without entertaining exaggerated expectations, I trust that something may be added to our geographical knowledge of the sea-coast of this bay; its leading features, productions, river anchorages, and inhabitants; the prospects of trade and the means of navigation: and although my wishes lead me strongly to penetrate as far as the lake, yet the obstacles, which may be found to exist, will induce me to rest satisfied with the more moderate and reasonable result. It may not be superfluous to notice here that a foregone conclusion appears to be spread abroad, regarding the aboriginal (so-called) inhabitants of Borneo, and that they are usually considered and mentioned under the somewhat vague appellation of Dyaks. They are likewise commonly pronounced as originating from the same stock as the Arafuras of Celebes and New Guinea, and radically identical with the Polynesian race. The conclusion is in itself highly improbable, but certainly premature, as the facts upon which it is built are so scanty and doubtful as to warrant no such structure. On an island so vast as Borneo, races radically distinct might exist, and at any rate the opposite conclusion is hardly justifiable from the specimens of language, or the physical appearance of the tribes of the southern portion of the country. We have Malay authorities for believing that there are many large tribes in the interior, differing greatly in their degree of civilization, though all alike removed from the vicinity of a superior people. We have the Dyaks of the south, the Idaan of the north, the Kagan warriors, and the Punams, a race little better than monkeys, who live in trees, eat without cooking, are hunted by the other tribes, and would seem to exist in the lowest conceivable grade of humanity. If we can trust these accounts, the latter people resemble in many particulars the Orang Benua, or aborigines of the Peninsula, but the Dyaks and Idaans are far superior, living in villages, cultivating the ground, and possessing cattle; besides these, we have the names of several

other tribes and people, and in all probability many exist in the interior, with whom we are yet unacquainted.

There are strong reasons for believing that the Hindoo religion, which obtained so extensively in Java and Sumatra, and yet survived in Balli and Lombok, was likewise extended to Borneo, and some authors have conceived grounds for supposing a religion anterior even to this. If only a portion of these floating opinions should be true, and the truth can only be tested by inquiry, we may fairly look for the descendants of the Hindoo dynasty, as well as an aboriginal people. It never seems to have occurred to any one to compare the Dyaks with the people of Balli and Lombok; we know, indeed, little of the former, but both races are fair, good-looking, and gentle. Again, respecting the concluded identity of the Dyaks and Arafuras; it is clear we have a very limited knowledge of the former, and I may ask, What do we know of the Arafuras? In short, I feel as reluctant to embrace any pre-conceived theory as I am to adopt the prevailing notion on this subject, for it requires a mass of facts, of which we are lamentably deficient, to arrive at anything approaching to a reasonable conclusion.

To return, however, from the above digression to the proceedings of the *Roylist*, I would remark, that it depends greatly on the time passed in Malludu Bay, whether our next endeavour be prosecuted at Abai on the western, or Tusan Abai on the eastern coast. The object in visiting Abai would be chiefly to penetrate to the lake, which, on the authority of Dalrymple and Barton, is not very far distant thence by a water communication; but should any success have attended similar efforts from Malludu Bay, this project will be needless, as the enterprise will be prosecuted to the westward, and reach the vicinity of Abai. As Kimanis is the limit of the British territory to the westward, so Point Kenabantongen, situated to the southward of the bay of Londakua, forms the eastern boundary: a line drawn from coast to coast between these points is represented as including our possessions. A reference to the chart will show the extent to

be considerable, and the eastern coast from Malludu Bay to Point Kenabantongen, is so little known that it is desirable to become acquainted with its general features and conformation, and to seek thence the means of gaining an inlet into the interior, should it be denied at Malludu Bay. The reported proximity of Kina Balu to Malludu Bay, and likewise to Abai, would (supposing it to be anything like the size it is affirmed) lead us to expect that it cannot be far distant from the eastern coast, and it is reasonable to conclude that some rivers or streams discharge themselves into the sea, in the numerous indentations that abound on this shore. However this may be, the coast, with its bays, islands, and bold headlands, is one of great interest, the careful inspection of which as far as Point Keneonjon will add to our knowledge. The longitude of Point Unsong and Point Keneonjon will likewise determine the eastern extremity of Borneo, as the latitude of Point San Paniange will give the northern extreme of the island.

Equal to Borneo in riches, and superior in picturesque beauty to any part of the Archipelago, is the large and eccentric country of the Bugis, called Celebes. So deep are the indentations of its coast, that the island may be pronounced as composed of a succession of peninsulas, nearly uniting in a common centre in the district of Palos, and thus, by the proximity of every part to the sea, offering great facilities for brief and decisive inland excursions.

The Dutch hold possession of Macassar, and formerly had settlements on the north-west coast and in the Bay of Sawa; their power appears never to have been very extensively acknowledged, and at present I have not been able to find any account of the condition of their factories. This information will probably be gained at Singapore. I propose limiting my inquiries to the northern and north-eastern portion of the island, more especially the great Bay of Gunong Tella. It is impossible to state here the direction of these inquiries or any definite object to which they should be turned, as I am acquainted with no author who speaks of the country save in

a general and vague manner. It is reported as rich, mountainous, strikingly beautiful, and possessed of rivers abounding in birds, and, like Borneo, inhabited by wild tribes in the interior, and by the Bugis on the sea-shores and entrances of rivers. The character of the Bugis, so variously represented, gives me strong hopes of rendering them, by care and kindness, useful instruments in the prosecution of these researches, for all writers agree that they are hardy, active, enterprising, and commercial, and it is seldom that a people possessing such characteristics are deaf to the suggestions of self-interest and kindly feeling.

The arrogance and, especially, the indolence of the Malays, counteract the influence of these strong incentives, and the impulse which governs such wild tribes as the Dyaks and Arafuras is a dangerous weapon which cuts all ways, and often when least anticipated. The Bajoos, or sea gypsies, are another race on whom some dependence may be placed, particularly if they be freed from the trammels of debt, swindled upon them by the Malays. Mr. Earl, who had a personal acquaintance with this tribe, and could speak their language, always expressed to me a degree of confidence in their good faith, which must have had some grounds.

I may here conclude the first stage of the expedition, during the progress of which the head-quarters will be fixed at Singapore. During some of the intervals I hope to see Manilla, and to acquire a cursory knowledge of the unexplored tract at the southern extremity of Manilla, called, in Norries' general chart, the Tiger Islands. The time devoted to the objects above mentioned must, as I have before said, be regulated by the degree of fortune which attends them; for cheered by success, I should not readily abandon the field; yet if persecuted by climate or other serious detriments, I shall frequently shift the ground to remove myself beyond such evil influence. It is scarcely needful to continue a detail of projects so distant, having already carved out for myself a work which I should be proud to perform, and which is already as extended as the chances of human life and human resolves will warrant.

The continuation of the voyage would lead me to take the *Royalist* to Timor or Port Essington, thence making excursions to the Arra Isles, Timor Laut, and the southern shores of North Guinea. That part of the coast contiguous to Torres Straits I am particularly desirous of visiting, as it has been suggested to me by Mr. Earl, and I think with reason, that a better channel than the one we are at present acquainted with may be found there. That such a channel exists, and will be discovered when the coast is surveyed, I entertain but little doubt, but the navigation is hazardous, and from the westward must be attempted with great caution. My own proceedings must of course be regulated by the discoveries previously made by Captain Wickham and others, and, as this gentleman has orders to survey Torres Straits, the field may be well trodden before I reach it. The rest of the voyage I shall consider as one merely of pleasure, combining such utility as circumstances will permit. It is probable that I shall visit our Australian settlements, glancé at the Islands of the Pacific, and return to Europe round the Horn.

Before concluding this long paper, I may observe that there are points of inquiry which may be useful to the studies of the learned, which, provided the process be moderately simple, I shall be willing to make, and I shall always be happy to receive any directions or suggestions regarding them. I allude to observations of the tides, to geology, natural history, etc., etc.; for the general observer often overlooks highly interesting facts from his attention not being called to them. The specimens of natural history will be forwarded from time to time, and information will be sent to the Geographical Society, which may always, if it be of any value, be used as freely as it is communicated. In like manner, the objects of natural history will be open to any person who is interested in such pursuits. I cannot but express my regret that, from pecuniary considerations as well as the small size of the vessel, and the limited quantity of provisions she carries, I am unable to take a naturalist and draughtsman, but I should always hail with pleasure any scientific person

who happened to be in the countries at the time; and I may venture to promise him every encouragement and facility in the prosecution of his pursuits.

I embark upon the expedition with great cheerfulness, with a strong vessel, a good crew, and the ingredients of success, as far as the limited scale of the undertaking will permit; and I cast myself on the waters; but whether the world will know me after many days is a question which, hoping the best, I cannot answer with any degree of assurance.

CHAPTER VI.

1839.

BROOKE thus describes the *Royalist* and her crew. (As has been already stated, the yacht was of 142 tons burthen.)

"The *Royalist* belongs to the Royal Yacht Squadron, which in foreign ports admits her to the same privileges as a man-of-war, and enables her to carry a white ensign. She sails fast, is conveniently fitted up, is armed with six six-pounders and a number of swivels and small arms of all sorts, carries four boats, and provisions for four months. Her principal defect is being too sharp in the floor, which, in case of taking the ground, greatly increases the risk; but I comfort myself with the reflection that a knowledge of this will lead to redoubled precaution to prevent such a disaster. She is withal a good sea boat, and as well calculated for the service as could be desired. Most of her hands have been with me for three years, and the rest are highly recommended. They are, almost without exception, young, able-bodied, and active, fit in all respects for enduring hardship and privation, or the more dangerous reverse of self-indulgence; and willing to follow the fortunes of the *Royalist* and her commander through all of good or evil fortune which may betide."

Of the crew, nineteen in number, including two boys, it will be sufficient to name David Irons, master; Andrew Murray, surveyor and observer; and Colin Hart, first mate. The latter having served in the *Findlay* had become attached to Brooke, and remained with him from that time. Regarding the discipline on board, the Journal says:—

"In an expedition conducted by Government, the line of discipline is so distinctly understood, and its infringement so strictly punished, that small hazard is incurred of any inconvenience. An individual, however, cannot appeal to the Articles of War. I was fully aware that many would go, but that few might stay; for whilst a voyage of discovery, *in prospectu*, possesses great attractions for the imagination, the hardship, danger, and a thousand other rude realities, soon dissipate the illusion, and leave the aspirant longing for that home he should never have quitted. In like manner, seamen can be procured in abundance, but cannot be kept from desertion whenever any matter goes wrong; and the total previous ignorance of their characters and dispositions renders this more likely, as the admission of one black sheep goes far to taint the entire crew. These considerations fully convinced me that it was necessary to form men to my purpose, and, by a line of steady and kind conduct, to raise up a personal regard for myself, and attachment for the vessel, which could not be expected in ordinary cases. In pursuance of this object, I was nearly three years in preparing a crew to my mind, and gradually moulding them to consider the hardest fate or misfortune under my command as better than the ordinary service in a merchant vessel. How far I have succeeded yet remains to be proved; but I cannot help hoping that I have raised the character of many, and have rendered all happy and contented since they have been with me; and certain am I, that no men can do their duty more cheerfully or willingly than the crew of the *Royalist*."

Rio Janeiro was reached January 27, 1839, and Brooke was struck by the most picturesque coast he had ever beheld—"mountains heaped, jumbled, and tortured into all shapes; deep indentations, and numerous islets and wooded scenery." On March 15th, the *Royalist* beat into Table Bay, "with a fiery south-easter blowing;" after which, passing through the Straits of Sunda, she anchored at Singapore in the last week of May. The daily life during the voyage is described to Mr. John C. Templer:—

"*January* 21, 1839, *lat.* 18° 40′, *long.* 30° 50′.—Let us, dear Jack, be on the same friendly terms as ashore; and to insure this, you must see me at this precise moment, and from that given point we can, like a pendulum, sway backwards and forwards. Know, then, that it has just struck four bells (2 o'clock); dinner is over, and, the sun being vertical, I am reposing on my couch, inditing this epistle on my knees. *Royalist* is going six knots with a light trade-wind, and four more days will see us at Rio Janeiro. Our lives pass in cheerful monotony. I rise always between six and seven; bathe; breakfast at half-past eight; compare chronometers, take sights, work them, then read in my vocation till near twelve, then shoot the sun, work the day's work, and dine at half-past one. Dinner over, I read again; repose for an hour or two; drink tea at five. The cool of the evening is dedicated to musket or pistol practice, all hands; or broadsword; games, sometimes active, but usually sedentary; chess amuses us aft, dominoes or draughts forward. At eight, we smoke a cigar or two, converse or read till half-past ten or eleven, and then retire for the night, to begin the same life next day. The only variety is some stray fish or bird appearing, when we are eager to add to our knowledge of natural history—or the sight of a vessel.

"I have every reason to be pleased with my companions. Murray is as good as F——'s certificate warranted. He is quiet, cautious, plodding, and indefatigable; his heart and soul are in the business; nothing will go wrong with him; he is as hard as iron, and as patient as Job. Irons is kind, judicious, and conciliating, fully entering into my views and wishes, and I could not wish for a better man, or a more capable one as master; he is an excellent observer, and possessed of fine natural abilities. W. is the greatest character, but the one I have most fear of; he is quite the gentleman—well educated, and of superior talents; but he has too much imagination, and all its consequent defects in habits and character—all eagerness one day, all slackness the next; thinks poetically, and talks of writing a tragedy; in

short, dreaming more than performing. He has enough mind, however, to neutralize this defect; but his physical powers are very defective, and I should say his education had been of the tenderest kind. He yields to the heat, declares it insupportable, says he can hardly lift an arm. If he comes to hard work he must alter greatly, or else he will retire. Such is the brief sketch of my life and my companions. I can truly say of myself that I am far better than at home—abstemious, occupied, and happy. Humshee (a Newfoundland dog) has got the mange. Billy (a bull-dog) has fits like Jack used to have. We have set him at a shark on deck. Didn't he tackle it, that's all! Have you read 'Oliver Twist?' If not, pray do so on the first leisure occasion."

From the Cape a box of natural history specimens was despatched to Mr. Templer's care, with a message that Brooke would like to be at his elbow when he opened it, not that it contained anything rich or rare, but just because it was the first box.

At Singapore they remained till the end of July. Brooke had been suffering in health before arrival, and longing for the rest and quiet not to be found on board; so he and his vessel, also somewhat the worse for wear, went into dock; and both, we are told, improved daily in good looks. He was hospitably received by the Governor, Mr. Bonham, and principal residents, and the time passed away pleasantly in expeditions through the island, study of its government, and in gathering all the information possible that could serve to guide his onward course. Meanwhile, various petty jealousies and ebullitions of temper among some of his men, which had already been a source of disturbance, increased. At the Cape, Irons had been discharged at his own request, and Colin Hart made master, and now another departure occurred.

"W. leaves me with my full consent and concurrence. He is so unfitted for what he had undertaken—so devoid of all energy, moral or physical—such a Niobe for tears, and such a school-girl in habits—that his departure will be the greatest

possible relief. Murray I have some reason to be displeased with. He is indefatigably laborious, and capable of performing the details of his duty; but he has the knack of making every living soul aboard the vessel detest him. Nobody so quiet or so unassuming so long as I am on deck or within hearing, yet I have complaints numerous of his interfering in duty matters, and trying to carry things with a high hand; *entre nous*, strictly—I have fears that he uses the grog bottle when nobody is looking; and when liquor is in wit is out, for he gets fretful and boastful. He is not a man that would leave, and I should be sorry if he so did; but he is not a man that will bear much encouragement. —— is a fool and a donkey, but a willing and good-tempered one. The second mate is turning out very well; and the hands forward I have reason to be satisfied with, though they are inveterate against M——, and unless I put the stopper I intend to do on his tongue, they would not sail with him."

The next letter is written in brighter spirits.

"*En avant, marchons*—with re-established health I am equal to anything—singing and chirruping from morning till night, and my bosom's lord sits lightly on his throne. I have settled to sail for Borneo Proper, on or before July 1st. The Raja of the country is represented as favourable to Europeans, and has lately behaved in a *civilized* and proper way to a shipwrecked crew, who fell into his power. On my way to the capital, I propose to look at the coast as minutely as circumstances will allow, and visit Saráwak, the place whence small vessels bring the ore of antimony. I know not how far I may be led, provided I am tempted forward by moderate success."

It appeared that Muda Hassim, Raja of Saráwak, was well disposed towards the English, whilst disliking the Dutch, and Brooke hoped to be able to take advantage of this friendly feeling.

"I have availed myself," he wrote, "of every means within my reach to render my visit agreeable to the Raja. I carry with me many presents which are reported to be to his

liking; gaudy silks of Surat, scarlet cloth, stamped velvet, gunpowder, besides a large quantity of confectionery and sweets, such as preserved ginger, jams, dates, syrups, and, to wind up all, a huge box of China toys for his children! I have likewise taken coarse nankeen to the amount of £100 value, as the best circulating medium in the country. I carry letters from the Government of Singapore, to state, as far as can be done, the objects of my voyage, and to caution the Raja to take every care of my safety and that of my men. The Board of Commerce have at the same time entrusted me with a letter and present to him, to thank him for his humanity to the crew of an English vessel wrecked on his coast. The story, as I had it from the parties shipwrecked, is highly creditable to his humanity. The vessel was wrecked on the bar of the Saráwak river. The people were saved with difficulty, and remained in the jungle, where they were discovered by some Malays. Muda Hassim, on receiving intelligence of this, sent down and brought them to his town, collected all that he could recover from the wreck, clothed them handsomely, and fed them well for several months, and, on an opportunity arriving, sent them back to Singapore free of expense.

"At the same time, however, that I have prepared to meet the natives as friends, I have not neglected to strengthen my crew in case I should find them hostile. Eight stout men of the Orang Laut, or men of the sea (Malays), have been added to the force.* They are an athletic race, cheerful and willing; and though not seamen in our sense of the term, yet well calculated for this expedition. They pull a good oar, and are invaluable in saving the Europeans the exposure consequent on wooding and watering. They possess likewise a knowledge of the jungle and its resources, and two of them have before been to Saráwak and all along the coast.

* One of these men, Inchi Subu, proved specially faithful. The *Saráwak Gazette*, of February 17, 1873, in speaking of his recent death, adds, "There is no European or native who had not a warm place in his heart, and who does not sincerely regret the loss of good old Subu's kind face from our circle."

Besides these, a young gentleman named Williamson accompanies me as interpreter; and I have fortunately met with a medical gentleman, Mr. Westermann, a Dane, who is surgeon for this voyage, Mr. Williams having left me at Singapore. With these arrangements, I look without apprehension to the power of the Malays; and, without relaxing measures of the strictest vigilance, I shall never sleep less soundly when it comes to my turn to do so."

All being ready, Singapore was left behind, and, after five weeks of very cautious sailing, constant surveying, and chart correcting, on the night of August 1st, in a violent thunderstorm, the *Royalist* let her anchor fall within sight of Borneo. We are not left wholly to conjecture what passed through Brooke's mind as he realized that his day-dream was thus far accomplished. Since leaving Singapore he had been again ill, and now, with charts containing errors of a degree and more, he saw himself on a coast almost unknown, abounding with shoals and reefs, and the haunt of pirates of the most desperate kind.

"My feelings I can hardly describe," he wrote in his Journal; "they are not those of tumultuous joy at the prospect of success; but on the contrary are rather of a composed and quiet nature; a fixed determination to gird up my loins and endeavour to effect an object and to perform a service which may eventually be useful to mankind and creditable to myself; whilst, at the same time, I must constantly bear in mind, that every step I take must inevitably be fraught with difficulties and dangers. Yet I shrink not from this self-imposed task; for the life, hour by hour, is one of constant excitement—each day's run in the yacht is marked with a guarded caution—each day's work, as a portion of the whole, secured beyond all accident; and as place succeeds place, and we perfect the knowledge of each, we feel how much we are doing, and how much there is to be done!"

As soon as the weather moderated, the *Royalist* sailed into the bay between Points Api and Datu. The shore was sandy, with a fringe of rocks, and the inland scenery beautiful. No

inhabitants could be seen, but traces of fire, huts, and boats. Wild boar seemed plentiful, and there were troops of monkeys; of which a young one, caught alive, was the first specimen of the fauna of Borneo. He was greyish, with a stripe down his back and tail, and his captivity did not injure his appetite.

Then came Sunday, the 4th of August, and the Journal has an entry: "Performed divine service myself! manfully overcoming that horror which I have to the sound of my own voice before an audience." In the evening Brooke landed again, and found the sermon that he loved the best in "the dark forest, where the trees shoot up straight and tall, succeeded by generation after generation, varying in stature, but struggling upwards;—Nature fresh from the bosom of creation, unchanged by man, and stamped with the same impress she originally bore."

Another night of heavy squalls, wind and rain from every point of the compass; and, passing Cape Datu, a boat was despatched to an island called Talang-Talang, where some Saráwak Malays were found, who proved friendly, and offered to conduct the party to Saráwak. A fleet of pirates, Illanun and Dyak, had left the bay only a few days before, the natives said. The Bandar, or chief man of the island, came off in his boat to bid the strangers welcome. He had been sent there by the Raja Muda Hassim, to collect turtles' eggs, of which five or six thousand were found every morning, and despatched to Saráwak as opportunity offered. He was extremely polite, and had very pleasing manners. "He assured us of a welcome from his Raja, and in their usual phrase expressed himself that the Raja's heart would dilate in his bosom at the sight of us. His dress consisted of trousers of green cloth, a dark green velvet jacket, and his sarong round his waist, thrown gracefully over two krisses, which he wore at his girdle. His attendants were poorly attired, and mostly unarmed, a proof of confidence in us. I treated him with sweetmeats and syrup; and of his own accord he took a glass of sherry, as did his chief attendant. On his departure he was presented with three yards of red cloth, and subsequently with a little tea and gunpowder."

In the evening Brooke landed with two boats' crews. He found a fort and residence built on a cliff one hundred feet high. The inhabitants had guns for protection against pirates, numbers of whom came yearly during the season from the Sulu Sea. The Illanuns—called also Lanuns—appeared to be the most numerous and formidable. The islands, for there were two close together, were "formed of white granite, with a speck of white sandy beach, rising into hills covered with the noblest timber wreathed with gigantic creepers. Cream-coloured pigeons flew from tree to tree, and an eagle or two soared aloft watching their motions. Frigate birds were numerous, and a small species of crocodile was likewise seen."

After this visit, more surveying was done, and then with utmost caution the schooner was steered towards the peak of Santubong, which, nearly three thousand feet in height, towers over the mouth of Saráwak River. Here she anchored again while a boat was sent to Kuching, the capital, to tell the Raja of the arrival. The scenery, we are told, was "noble. The peak of Santubong, clothed in richest verdure, rises close to the right bank; straggling trees, mixed with cliffs, crown the summit; a white beach, fringed with casuarinas, light and elegant, finishes the whole." The next day the boat returned, accompanied by a large prahu or native boat, conveying a Pangeran (nobleman) of note sent by Muda Hassim to bid them welcome. "With the Pangeran Illudeen, came the Raja's chief writer, his shroff, a renegade Parsee, a war captain, and some others, besides a score of followers. They made themselves much at home, ate and drank—the less scrupulous took wine—and conversed with ease and liveliness. The pangeran," continues Brooke, "spoke to me of some ship captain who was notoriously cruel to his lascars, and insolent in his language to the Malays. He was murdered by his crew, and the circumstance was related to me as though I was to approve the act. 'No Malay of Borneo,' added the pangeran, 'would injure a European, were he well treated, and in a manner suitable to his rank.' And I am sure such a declaration, in a

limited sense, is consonant with all known principles of human nature, and the actions of the passions and feelings. Our pangeran was quite the gentleman, and a manly gentleman too. His dress was a black velvet jacket, trimmed with gold lace, and trousers of green cloth, with a red sarong and kris. He was the only one of the party armed whilst aboard. The rest were good quiet men, and one or two of them very intelligent. They took their leave of us to get back to the town at sunset; but, the ebb making, returned and stayed till twelve at night, when the tide turned in their favour. We had some difficulty in providing beds. The pangeran slept in the cabin, and the rest were distributed about on couches or carpets."

Twenty miles of difficult navigation up Saráwak River, which wound its tortuous course between banks covered with mangrove and nepa palm, brought the *Royalist* close to Kuching; not, however, without touching on a rock, from which it took them an hour to get free. The Raja despatched several boats to their assistance, and although this help was not needed, the kind intention was a pleasant welcome. The yacht remained that night a mile and a half from the town; and early the following morning, August 15, 1839, anchored abreast of Kuching, and greeted the Raja with a royal salute of twenty-one guns. This was returned by one of eighteen from the Raja, followed by one of seven from his brother, Muda Mahommed. The noise and smoke done with, breakfast followed, and Brooke went on shore to visit the great man.

(*Journal.*) "He received us in state, seated in his hall of audience, which outside is nothing but a large shed erected on piles, but within decorated with taste. Chairs were placed on each side of the ruler, who occupied the head seat. Our party were placed on one hand, and on the other sat his brother Mahommed, and Makota and some others of his principal chiefs; whilst immediately behind him his twelve younger brothers were seated. The dress of Muda Hassim was simple, but of rich material; and most of the principal men were well,

and even superbly, dressed. His countenance is plain, but intelligent and highly pleasing, and his manners perfectly easy. His reception was kind, and, I am given to understand, highly flattering. We sat, however, trammelled with the formality of state, and our conversation did not extend beyond kind inquiries and professions of friendship. We were presented with tobacco rolled up in a leaf, each about a foot long; and tea was served by attendants on their knees. A band played wild and not unmusical airs during the interview, and the crowd of attendants who surrounded us were seated in respectful silence. Saráwak is but an occasional residence of the Raja Muda Hassim, and he is now detained here by a rebellion in the interior. On my inquiring whether the war proceeded favourably, he replied that there was no war, but merely some *child's play* among his subjects. From what I hear, however, from other quarters, it is more serious than he represents it; and hints have been thrown out that the Raja wishes me to stay here as a *demonstration* to intimidate the rebels. We shall see."

His next interview was less formal, for going on shore he caught the Raja unawares, and they sat together and chatted as comfortably as the necessity of an interpreter would allow. Muda Hassim talked of his country, and Brooke spoke of England, and then mentioned the Dutch; but the Raja shrank a little from this topic; he had no dealings whatever with them, he said, and never allowed their vessels to come there, and therefore could not say what they were like. He liked the English; but would Brooke *really* tell him which was the stronger, Great Britain or Holland? Which, he asked, was the cat, and which the rat? Whereat Brooke assured him that Great Britain was really the Cat, though it so happened that just in that part of the world the Rat had more possessions.

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CHAPTER VII.

1839.

MUDA HASSIM had promised to pay a visit to the yacht on the following day, and, as his arrival was expected at an early hour, all on board were in readiness to receive him immediately after breakfast. But etiquette held sway.

(*Journal.*) "There came two diplomatists on board, to know, in the first place, how many guns we intended to salute with; and, in the second, whether I would go ashore in my gig, in order to fetch the chief and his brother off. The latter request I might have refused, and in a diplomatic light it was inadmissible, but I readily conceded it, because, in the first place, it was less troublesome than a refusal; and, in the next, I cared not to bandy paltry etiquette with a semi-savage; and, whatever pride might whisper, I could not, as an individual traveller, refuse an acknowledgment of the supremacy of a native Prince. I went accordingly. The great man came on board, and we treated him with every distinction and respect. Much barbaric state was maintained as he quitted his own residence. His sword of state, with a gold scabbard, his war shield, jewel-kilted kris, and flowing horse-tails, were separately carried by the grand officers of state. Bursts of wild music announced his exit. His fourteen brothers and principal pangerans surrounded him, and a number, formidable on the deck of a vessel, covered the rear. He stayed two hours and a half, ate and drank, and talked with great familiarity; till the oppressive heat of the crowded

cabin caused me to wish them all to another place. However, he departed at last, under a salute of twenty-one guns; and the fatigues of the day were satisfactorily brought to a close. I afterwards sent the Raja the presents I had brought for him. A person coming here should be provided with a few articles of small importance, to satisfy the crowd of inferior chiefs. Soap, small parcels of tea, lucifers, writing-paper, a large stock of cigars, biscuits, and knives, are the best; for, without being great beggars, they seem greatly to value these trifles, even in the smallest quantity. The higher class inquired frequently for scents; and for the great men I know no present which would be more acceptable than a small pier-glass. All ranks seemed greatly pleased with those aboard; and some of the lower orders, quite ignorant of the reflection, were continually laughing, moving, sitting and rising, to observe the corresponding effect."

The day after this interview, Brooke sent word to the Raja's brother Mahammed that, if agreeable, he would call upon him, and on hearing that the latter was ready for a reception, proceeded to his house. But Muda Mahammed, an ill-favoured being, very inferior in intelligence and in manners to his brother, was not in the room to receive his guest; and Brooke, after waiting some time, rose and quietly told Makota, who with other pangerans was present, that he was sorry Mahammed was not ready—he was not himself accustomed to be kept waiting, and should return to his ship. On this all the pangerans rose also, and assured him that it was a mistake —that Mahammed was not yet dressed, and would regret it himself. "When I visited the Raja, he received me in the hall," was Brooke's reply; no sooner uttered than Muda Mahammed appeared, and began to apologise, laying the blame on his servants, who had told him, he said, that his visitor was not coming for an hour. Brooke did not believe the excuse, but let it pass, and, after tea and cigars had been handed, took his leave, his host sending after him a present of fowls and goats.

That same evening, Williamson, the interpreter, was sent

to ask from the Raja permission to visit some of the Malay towns and the country of the Dyaks. Leave was at once granted. Brooke was welcome to go to all parts that were quiet and orderly, but the Raja would not be answerable for his safety if he went up the river where rebellious subjects were at war. Williamson's return was followed by a message from Makota that he proposed to visit the *Royalist* that night without ceremony; and as Pangeran Makota was an important personage, he shall be described without ceremony before he comes on board.

He was related to Muda Hassim, acted as regent during his absence, and was considered third in rank in the kingdom. His character will appear later. At present, a few days only in the country, ignorant of the languages, and with no experience of others in any way to help him, Brooke could but state his first impression of men and things. "His appearance," he writes, "is plain, but good-humoured and intelligent; and his countenance has few traces of a Malay descent. His manners, schooled perhaps by subtle dissimulation, seem at once lively, frank, and engaging; his descriptions of countries and people are so graphic that it is difficult to doubt their fidelity."

To which description may be added that, unlike most Malays, Makota neither smoked tobacco, nor chewed sīrih, nor was able to swim. Accompanied only by Pangeran Illudeen, he came on board after dark, and remained some hours. The object of his visit, he said, was to speak about the trade and future prospects of Saráwak. The country was rich in ores; antimony might be obtained in any quantity; the hills yielded tin and gold; and wax, rattans, and birds-nests, were to be had; but at present the war paralysed trade.

"He informed me," wrote Brooke, "that he had received a letter from the Sultan of Sambas (*i.e.* Dutch), offering to assist in opening the mines, and requesting permission to trade; he had not yet answered the letter; he did not like the Dutch, but feared to take on himself the consequences of a refusal. The Raja had told him to act as he thought proper,

but he wished Muda Hassim to authorize him; would I speak to the Raja on the subject? Certainly, I replied, I would do so with pleasure if he wished it. He then went on to say, that three English vessels from Singapore had already been here and taken away a cargo of antimony ore; but when the country was established, and its resources brought into action, could I answer for a sufficient number of English vessels coming here to take the produce? I replied, that if protected from outrage, it was a matter beyond doubt; and that wherever there was a profitable trade, ships in plenty would be found. His next question was: In case the Dutch attacked them, would the English Government, in consideration of the trade with Borneo Proper, enter into a treaty to give them aid —in short, a defensive alliance? I replied, that I had no warrant to answer such a question, but that my opinion was that they would *not* interfere in the concerns of a foreign power; adding, that their not doing so was the best proof that the Borneans could have that in trading with them they had nothing to apprehend. I continued, that he must well know that the Dutch had never established themselves on the territory of any Malay prince without ultimately laying claim to it; I instanced Sambas and Sumatra; and that they were doing the same at Balli and Lombok. I told him they were always ready to make large advances in money for trade, for which they took a mortgage on land; they *assisted* in opening a country, and founded claims on the assistance so given; that it was easy to let them come, but I feared he would find it difficult to get rid of them ever after, and that the most fatal consequences might ensue to his country, which he knew was the last Malay state of any power not under Dutch influence. He granted all this, allowed their extreme jealousy of the Dutch, *but—but*—in case they went to war? I replied, Did he ever remember an instance when the Dutch had made war without first having a footing in a Malay state? He did not: and I told him so open a violation was not the danger; the danger to the Raja was their coming here on friendly terms."

On Sunday, August 18th, the *Royalist* crew again gathered round their leader for public worship.

At midnight they were roused by a boat from the Raja to say he was ill and wanted some medicine, whereupon Mr. Westermann went off in haste, but found him in the forbidden precincts of his seraglio, reported to be asleep and not to be disturbed. Next day Makota appeared again, bringing with him "a real living Dyak of Lundu," who, being the first specimen of the race, was most interesting in Brooke's eyes, and was immediately questioned with great eagerness. He had been absent five months from his tribe, he said, by order of Makota, and was now about to return.

Would he go with them? Yes, willingly. Did he think his people would be glad to see Europeans? Yes; both the men and the women would be pleased, and they might feel sure they would be treated kindly. These and numerous other questions he was plied with, in what, to him, must have been an astonishing manner.

"*Q.* When a Dyak chief dies, what do they do with his body? (Brooke asked.) *A.* They take it into the jungle, place it on a platform, and build a house over it, with a railing around. *Q.* Who gets the property the chief leaves? *A.* His wife and children. *Q.* In the house of the dead man, do they put anything? *A.* Yes, the heads he took in his life, drinking vessels, and the clothes he wore. *Q.* Do they put food there? *A.* Yes. *Q.* Do they eat the food put with the dead chief? *A.* No, that is left with him. *Q.* When they want a wife, how do they get one? *A.* (Describing it on the table with a cigar and two pens.) The man must go to the father; then, if the father likes, he lets him have his daughter. *Q.* Does the man give the father any present? *A.* Yes, clothes, food, etc. *Q.* How many wives can a man marry? *A.* One. When she dies he gets another. . . . . *Q.* When a chief dies, what becomes of his spirit? *A.* It goes into the clouds! *Q.* When a chief dies and goes into the clouds, do you ever see him again? *A.* No; but when his friend dies too they will meet. *Q.* Amongst these spirits, is there one

Great Spirit above the rest? He seemed only half to comprehend, and, on the question being repeated, said: I do not know, but there are a great many spirits of my countrymen in the clouds; others are not there. *Q.* Did he know there was a God? (The word Allah was used.) *A.* Yes. *Q.* What is God? *A.* He had heard the word, but did not know what it meant. *Q.* Do the Dyaks offer sacrifices or pray like the Islamites? *A.* They offer sacrifice of hog and deer to Biādum. (Biādum, it seemed, was Dyak chief of former days, and was the only spirit to whom sacrifices were offered.) *Q.* Did they see Biādum? *A.* No, the people of former days saw him. *Q.* Who sends snow, lightning, thunder, rain? *A.* Biādum.

"Here my visitor showed such unequivocal signs of weariness that I ordered him something to eat, and he partook of salt beef, biscuits, and grog."

After which, Brooke wrote down a list of Dyak words with great care, repeating them after a little time had elapsed, to make sure that he was understood; and then dismissed his wild man, in the hope of extending his vocabulary before long.

By August 21st all was in readiness for an expedition into the interior, and at early dawn Brooke started, with five of his men and one Malay, in the long boat of the yacht, named the *Skimalong;* Illudeen and another pangeran accompanying in two prahus, all armed.

Saráwak river divides into two branches; one gains the sea by Mount Santubong, and was that by which the *Royalist* had entered; the other, known as the Moratabas, curves somewhat eastward, and, being joined by two more streams, the Quop and the Riam, divides itself also into two branches.

Leaving Kuching, and passing into the Moratabas, the expedition gained the sea, and steering eastward entered the Samarahan river. "Here the tide was so strong against us that we brought up for a couple of hours till it slacked, and between four and five got under weigh again, with the expectation of shortly arriving at our place of destination. Hour

after hour passed, however; the sun set; the glorious moon rose upon our progress as we toiled slowly but cheerfully onwards. Silence was around, save when broken by the wild song of the Malay boatmen, responded to by the song of our tars to the tune of Bonnie Laddie. It was such a situation as an excitable man might envy;—the reflection that we were proceeding up a Borneon river hitherto unknown, sailing where no European ever sailed before; the deep solitude, the brilliant night, the dark fringe of retired jungle, the lighter foliage of the river bank, with here and there a tree flashing and shining with fire-flies, nature's tiny lamps glancing in countless numbers and incredible brilliancy. At eleven at night we reached Samarahan, having been eighteen hours in the boat, and fifteen at the oars, chiefly against tide. The men were tired but cheerful. Indeed, I can give them no praise beyond their merits, for conduct spirited, enduring, and yet so orderly as never to offend the native inhabitants or infringe upon their prejudices. A glass of grog with our supper, and we all soon closed our eyes in comfortable sleep, such as fatigue alone can bring."

The village of Samarahan contained about eighty inhabitants, living in houses built on posts by the water's edge. Leaving this behind, the expedition continued its course to Sibnow.

"The banks are low," the Journal continues, "and for the most part cleared a quarter of a mile on either side, but the jungle is rarely disturbed beyond that distance. Occasionally, however, the scene is varied by the rich foliage of this jungle, which here and there kisses the tide as it flows by, and in some spots on the cleared ground arise clumps of trees that would be the pride of any park in Europe. Monkeys, in great numbers, frisked among the branches, and though unable to shoot them, we were often amused by their grotesque attitudes, and the tremendous leaps they made. On one occasion we saw as many as twenty throw themselves one after the other from the branch of a high tree into a thick bush full forty feet below, and not one missed his distance or hold.

"On our way to Sibnow, the pangeran had collected a number of men for a deer hunt. The nets used for this purpose are formed of rattans, strongly woven together, which, being stretched along the jungle, have nooses of the same material at eight inches apart, attached to this ridge rope. Beaters and dogs then hunt from the opposite quarter, and the deer in escaping them is caught in this trap. A length of several hundred fathoms is stretched at once, each separate part of thirty or forty being joined on as required; and I was told that in this way many deer were taken. Heavy rain came on directly after we had brought up (at night), and quickly dispelled all our preparations for supper by putting out our fire, cooling our hot water, and soaking our half-broiled fowls. To a hungry man such an event is very disastrous; but nothing could exceed the kindness of our Malay friends. They took us to the best house in the village, prepared our supper, and provided us with comfortable mats and pillows to sleep on. Some of our party preferred a bad supper and wet bed to these accommodations; and, to consummate their discomfort, they were kept awake a great part of the night by sand-flies. Our lot in the house was more fortunate. We heard the rattling of the pitiless rain, and commiserated those whose choice or distrust kept them in the boat. I obtained by this means an excellent opportunity of seeing a Malay *ménage* in all primitive simplicity. Women, children, and all their domestic arrangements, were exposed to view. Nothing appeared to be concealed, nor could anything exceed the simple kind-hearted hospitality of the inhabitants. The women gazed upon us freely; and their children, with the shyness natural to their age, yet took a glance at the strangers. Never having seen a white man, their curiosity was naturally excited, but it was never offensive. Our supper consisted of an excellent curry, and cold venison broiled on a stick, flavoured with a glass of sherry, and concluded by a cigar."

On quitting Sibnow the travellers passed on through wild but beautiful scenery, the river gradually narrowing to some

twenty-five yards, and being very tortuous. They were now fairly in the bush; and Pangeran Illudeen, to Brooke's great disappointment, began to get nervous and to talk of returning. There was nothing to see, he remarked; the river was narrow, rapid, and obstructed by trees, the Dyaks hostile, the Raja's enemies in ambush. In vain Brooke urged every argument he could think of; there was one on the pangeran's side, not advanced and therefore unassailable—he had exhausted his stock of tobacco and sīrih (betel) and could procure no more in those outlandish parts. What could a man be expected to do under such circumstances? He was perfectly polite, but he was responsible for Brooke's safety, he said, and would go no farther. By dint, however, of a little bribery (whether by tobacco is not stated) he was induced to believe that the safety of his charge might be compatible with allowing him to proceed till the ebb should help their return; and Brooke, delighted with this limited permission, made the *Skimalong* deserve her name, and on they went amid "long vistas of noble trees with a diversity of richest foliage, in some places over-arching the water and forming a canopy overhead. Birds were numerous, and woke the woods with their notes, but rarely approached within shot." The ebb came, but the *Skimalong* had no mind in her to stop, and the pangeran, left behind, shouted lustily till his lungs were exhausted, when, perhaps more moved by the silence than the noise, Brooke brought up and came back. Illudeen was very glad, fired a gun in honour of the Englishman's return to common sense, and had his breakfast in peace; after which came the return. Sleeping again at Samarahan, they reached the schooner at sunset, August 25th.

A second expedition quickly followed, this time up the river Lundu, the mouth of which, about half a mile in width, breaks the coast-line between Mount Santubong and Cape Datu, west of Saráwak river. Here Dyak ways were for the first time open to Brooke, the Kuching people and those in the neighbourhood of the Samarahan before visited being chiefly Malays. At the village of Si Tungong, eighteen miles up the

Lundu, inhabited by the Sibŭyōw, a Dyak tribe, the whole population of about four hundred lived in one house 594 feet long. The front room or street ran the whole length, and was 21 feet broad; cots formed of hollowed trees hung in it, and served as seats by day and beds by night. The back part was divided by neat partitions into the private apartments of the married men, widowers and unmarried men occupying the front room, which was public. The whole was raised twelve feet from the ground, and reached by means of an awkwardly notched trunk. In front was a terrace of bamboo fifty feet broad, which, with the front room, formed the general resort of the inhabitants and their live-stock—a confusion of pigs, dogs, birds, monkeys, and fowls. Overhead was a second crazy storey, used for keeping stores. The chief, Sejugah, whose acquaintance Brooke had made at Kuching, had a room rather better than the rest, nearly in the middle. Clean mats were laid down in honour of his guest, who glancing up caught sight of thirty ghastly skulls dangling from the roof—the greatest adornment in Dyak estimation.

(*Journal.*) "On inquiry I was told that it is indispensably necessary a young man should procure a skull before he gets married. When I urged on them that the custom would be more honourable in the breach than in the observance, they replied that it was established from time immemorial, and could not be dispensed with. Subsequently, however, Sejugah allowed that heads were very difficult to obtain now, and a young man might sometimes get married by giving presents to his lady-love's parents. At all times they warmly denied ever obtaining any heads but those of their enemies, adding they were bad people, and deserved to die. I asked a young unmarried man whether he would be obliged to get a head before he could obtain a wife. He replied, 'Yes.' 'When would he get one?' 'Soon.' 'Where would he go?' 'To the Sarebus river.' I mention these particulars in detail, as I think had their practice extended to taking the head of any defenceless traveller, or any Malay surprised in his dwelling or boat, I should have wormed the secret out of them. The

men of this tribe marry but one wife, and that not until they have attained the age of seventeen or eighteen. The wedding ceremony is curious, and, as related, is performed by the bride and bridegroom being brought in procession along the large room, where a brace of fowls is placed over the bridegroom's neck, which he whirls seven times round his head. The fowls are then killed, and their blood sprinkled on the forehead of the pair; which done, they are cooked and eaten by the new-married couple alone, whilst the rest feast and drink during the whole night. Their dead are put in a coffin; but Sejugah informed me that the different tribes vary in this particular; and it would appear that they differ from their near neighbours the Dyaks of Lundu. Like these neighbours, too, the Sibŭyōws seem to have little or no idea of a God. They offer prayers to Biādum, the great Dyak chief of former days. Priests and ceremonies they have none; the thickest mist of darkness is over them: but how much easier is it to dispel darkness with light than to overcome the false blaze with the rays of truth!

"That these Dyaks are in a low condition there is no doubt; but comparatively theirs is an innocent state, and I consider them capable of being easily raised in the scale of society. The absence of all prejudice regarding diet, the simplicity of their characters, the purity of their morals, and their present ignorance of all forms of worship and all idea of future responsibility, render them open to conviction of truth and religious impression. Yet, when I say this, I mean, of course, only when their minds shall have been raised by education, for without previous culture I reckon the labours of the missionary as useless as endeavouring to read off a blank paper. I doubt not but that the Sibŭyōw Dyaks would readily receive missionary families amongst them, provided the consent of the Raja Muda Hassim was previously obtained. That the Raja would consent I much doubt, but if any person chose to reside at Si Tungong for the charitable purpose of leading the tribe gradually, by means of education, to the threshold of Christianity, it would be worth the

asking, and I would exert what influence I possess with him. I feel sure a missionary would be safe amongst them so long as he strictly confined himself to the gentle precepts of his faith. He would live abundantly and cheaply, and be exposed to no danger except from the incursion of hostile tribes, which must always be looked for by a sojourner amid a Dyak community.

"I must add that this day (September 1, 1839), when so many of my friends are destroying partridges, I have had my gun in hand to procure a few specimens."

The Lundu expedition came also to an end too soon. Illudeen began early to make objections and find obstructions; but Brooke was at first in no mood to give way, and only did so because he was so lame, with cut and inflamed feet from a land journey, that if he walked to Lundu, where he specially wished to go, his getting back was doubtful; so "with the best grace I could I yielded the point—with a vow, however, never to have the same pangeran again. I did *manage* to be civil to him from policy alone. He was superfluously kind and obliging."

On his return to Kuching, Muda Hassim was as gracious as before, and presented him with a live orang-outang, with fine long hair of a bright chestnut, and a melancholy expression of face, that received the name of Betsey. Urged again by Makota to speak to the Raja on the subject of trade, Brooke, though feeling that to lie still and read novels was just then, owing to his lameness, the most pleasant thing in life, managed to get on shore the evening of September 11th, for a private audience, during which he impressed on the Raja two things chiefly—one, that to open the land for trade with individual British, American, or French merchants must certainly prove to his great advantage; the other, that considering his was the only Malay state remaining independent, he should be careful never to allow any Government or any body of white men to settle in the country. In return, Muda Hassim inquired what would happen if the governor of Singapore, who was friendly, died or was removed; might not his

successor interfere and prevent the trade? And supposing ships began coming to take the goods collected by his people, and then left off and deceived them? These and other questions were answered in all honesty; and the whole discussion, carried on with the utmost good-will and civility, resulted in the Raja promising to send letters to the merchants of Singapore granting them free permission to trade with Saráwak.

While these were being composed, a work of some days, there was a constant interchange of visits, for Muda Hassim was already beginning to look up to Brooke, his title for whom was Tuan Besar—Great Sir. And Brooke heartily liked the little man (he was very small in stature), and greatly appreciated his kindness, the only drawback being that etiquette had to be continually remembered, and this was wearisome.

"How tedious and *ennuyant* to me can only be known by those who know me well," runs the Journal, "and how repugnant these trammels of society and ceremony are to nature. Nevertheless I suffered this martyrdom with exemplary outward patience, though my spirit flagged, and my thoughts wandered, and my head often grew confused, with sitting and talking trifling nonsense through a poor interpreter."

At length all was ready for departure, and Saráwak reechoed with the farewell salutes—twenty-one guns from the *Royalist*, returned by the Raja with a number beyond counting. "Tuan Brooke, do not forget me!" were his last words; and to help this remembrance he continued firing till the schooner was out of sight. Before sailing for Singapore, Brooke left the vessel at the entrance of the Morotabas, and, with two pangerans, visited the river Sadong, and made his first acquaintance with a professed pirate chief. This is his description of the worthy: "Stout and resolute-looking, and of a most polite demeanour—as oily-tongued a cut-throat as a gentleman would wish to associate with! He spoke of his former life without hesitation, and confessed himself rather apprehensive of going to Singapore. He was remarkably

civil, and sent us a breakfast of fruit, salt fish, stale turtles' eggs, and coffee sweetened with syrup. Nothing could exceed the polite kindness of our rascally host. In every house, skulls, generally of men, but sometimes of women, dangled from the roof."

Returning to the yacht, with the intention of proceeding at once to Singapore, Brooke bade adieu to the two pangerans, the Panglima, or head warrior, alone remaining through the night, to pilot him out of the river early the next morning.

(*Journal.*) "*September* 28, 1839.—The first part of the night was dark, and the Panglima in his prahu, with twelve men, lay close to the shore, and under the dark shadow of the hill. About 9 p.m. the attention of the watch on our deck was attracted by some bustle ashore, which soon swelled to the wildest cries; the only word we could distinguish, however, being 'Dyak!' 'Dyak!' All hands were instantly on deck; I gave the order to charge and fire a gun with a blank cartridge, and in the meantime lit a blue-light. The gig was lowered, a few muskets and cutlasses thrown into her, and I started in the hope of rescuing our poor Malay friends. The vessel meanwhile was prepared for defence; guns loaded, boarding-nettings ready for running up, and the people at quarters; for we were ignorant of the number, the strength, or even the description, of the assailants. I met the Panglima's boat pulling towards the vessel, and returned with her, considering it useless and rash to pursue the foe. The story is soon told. A fire had been lit on the shore; and after the people had eaten, they anchored their boat, and according to their custom went to sleep. The fire had probably attracted the roving Sarebus Dyaks, who stole upon them, took them by surprise, and would inevitably have cut them off but for our presence. They attacked the prahu fiercely with their spears, and the Panglima was wounded severely. When our blue-light was seen they desisted, and directly the gun fired paddled away fast. We never saw them. The poor Panglima walked on board with a spear fixed in his breast, the barb being buried, and a second rusty

spear-wound close to the first; the head of the weapon was cut out, his wounds dressed, and he was put to bed. Another man had a wound from a wooden-headed spear, and most had been struck more or less by these rude and luckily innocuous weapons. A dozen or two of Dyak spears were left in the Malay boat, which I got. Some were well shaped, with iron heads; but the mass, simply pieces of hard wood sharp-pointed,* which they hurl in great numbers. Fire-arms the Dyaks had none, and during the attack made no noise whatever; whilst the Malays shouted lustily, some perhaps from bravery, most from terror.

"The force that attacked them was differently stated to have been 50, 80, or 100 men, and, allowing for exaggeration, perhaps there might have been 35, not fewer from the number of spears thrown. Being fully prepared, we set our watch and retired as usual to our beds, the stealthy and daring attack right under the guns of the schooner having given me a lesson to keep these charged in future. The plan was well devised, for we could not fire without the chance of hitting friends as well as foes, and the deep shadow of the hill entirely prevented our seeing the assailants."

"I would have given the fellows a lesson if I had had an opportunity," he adds in a letter; "but they came in darkness, and in darkness departed. 'All's well that ends well;' the Panglima was recovering—and I, when I cooled, rejoiced I had shed no blood."

When day broke, he decided on remaining till the Panglima should be out of danger from his wound, and meanwhile to send Williamson to tell the Raja what had occurred. The interpreter returned at night, accompanied by a host of pangerans, Makota at their head, with an urgent request that Brooke would go back to Kuching.

(*Journal.*) "*September* 30, 1839.—The Raja, he said, desired it very much, and would think it so kind, that I consented. I am very desirous to fix their good feelings towards us; and I was prompted by curiosity to see the Raja's *ménage*

* Called Saligi.

as his guest. We had a heavy pull against tide, and arrived at Sarawak (Kuching) about 4 p.m. We had eaten nothing since breakfast at eight; and we had to sit, and talk, and drink tea, and smoke, till eight in the evening; then dinner was announced, and we retired to the private apartments—my poor men came willingly too! The table was laid *à l'Anglaise*—a good curry and rice, grilled fowls, and a bottle of wine. We did justice to our cheer; and the Raja, throwing off all reserve, bustled about with the proud and pleasing consciousness of having given us an English dinner in proper style—now drawing the wine, now changing the plates, pressing us to eat, saying, 'You are at home!' Dinner over, we sat, and drank, and smoked, and talked cheerfully, till, tired and weary, we expressed a wish to retire, and were shown to a private room. A crimson silk mattress, embroidered with gold, was my couch; it was covered with white gold-embroidered mats and pillows. Our men fared equally well, and enjoyed their wine—a luxury to us, our stock of wine and spirits having been expended some time."

The next day the final adieux were made, and, returning to the yacht, they set sail for Singapore. It was a tedious voyage from contrary winds, and Brooke beguiled it with his Journal, speculating on the affinities of languages, and summing up his attainments in Malay and Dyak. A letter to Mr. Templer, from Singapore, October 19th, contains a summary of the past.

"In the first place," he wrote, "I have been able to establish the most intimate and friendly footing with the Raja of Borneo, and I have every prospect of being able in the ensuing season to see the whole of his country. An unfortunate rebellion prevented my penetrating so far as I intended into the interior of Borneo, but, nevertheless, we have done a good deal. We have surveyed 130 or 140 miles of coast never before visited by Europeans, and laid down minutely the rivers, prominences, etc., from personal inspection; and I have lived among a Dyak tribe for ten days, and have seen and visited other Dyaks, so as to become well acquainted with

their habits, manners, and customs, and, in some measure, their language. I have ascended various rivers (the entire country is a net-work of rivers) to the distance of 30 to 70 miles; the principal ones are the Sadong, Saráwak, Sampdian, Lundu, etc., some of them streams navigable for large vessels, and all of them affording excellent means of inland communication. These rivers have been reduced to our Survey. In natural history I consider we have been somewhat successful, though our stock of birds and beasts is but small; probably amongst them there will be some rare, perhaps new, specimens. Some information I have gained respecting the orang-outang, will, I think, go to prove that the pongo of Buffon is not the fabulous animal represented by our modern writers of natural history. I have a young orang, or mĭas, on board, larger than those in the 'Zoological' of the same species; but the natives of Borneo Proper are positive in asserting that these are two entirely distinct animals, one called the mĭas rambi, or smaller orang, which we know in Europe, the other mĭas pappun, as big or bigger than a man, and with a round face. To confirm the truth of this assertion, I have got the hand of a mĭas pappun, larger than the hand of any man in this vessel, and I cannot persuade myself that age could ever develop the smaller species to the same size. Betsey Mĭas I shall not send home but consign to the care of some friend at Singapore, as the genial climate will probably allow her to attain to years of maturity, whence a fair judgment can be formed of the real size of this small species. I have a wa-wa, a species of long-armed ape, very little known. I fear he will never live to go home, being very delicate.

"In trade I have been able to accomplish an excellent footing with the Borneons, and a free permission that English vessels may trade with Borneo. The Dutch are making great efforts to effect the same objects, and I have possessed myself of their correspondence with the Government of Saráwak, the Pangeran India Makota, on this subject. They are positively excluded now, and well will it be for the last independent

Malay State if it have firmness enough to withstand all their tempting offers of money and assistance. The English might to-morrow enter into a treaty with the Borneons which would give them the trade of their country. Our apathy is astonishing, for it not only disdains present advantages but neglects prospective benefits. You may judge from what you know of my sentiments how far I have thought right, when asked my opinion, to express it to a native prince. As an English gentleman, and without interest or partiality, I have for his own safety strongly recommended him never to allow any government or any body of white men to settle in his country.

"Now, my dear Jack, I beg of you to stand up and let me hit you in the face!! Are you not a pretty fellow! I left England in December, and in October following I have received only one letter from you, dated in March. . . . Another thing, *mon ami*, here am I, an author!—and you never sent me a single copy of my Anti-Papistical!"

This was a pamphlet in the press when he left England.

The history of the cruise formed a welcome subject at Singapore, where the merchants presented Brooke with an address of thanks. The Governor, however, was more cautious. A little less out-spokenness to the native chiefs would be more prudent. The Dutch might take offence. Openings for our trade were certainly desirable, but politics should be avoided, and political complications held in horror. *Surtout point de zèle!*

To while away the time until the conclusion of peace at Saráwak should open the country to him, Brooke now made an expedition to Celebes, taking with him from Singapore a Bugis, a native gentleman of Celebes, by name Dain Matara, who offered to accompany him without remuneration, and who proved a great acquisition. After tedious becalming, they reached Bonthian, a small Dutch settlement on the south coast of the island, where they were cordially received, and from which expeditions inland were formed as soon as horses and guides could be procured—no easy matter. The natives were timid; and the Dutch officers, not being themselves

affected by the Englishman's love of scrambling up impossible places, were phlegmatic, but afterwards bestirred themselves, and though not apparently offering to join, yet procured guides. The waterfall of Sapo was the first thing Brooke desired to see; and if all waterfalls were as difficult of access, some among us would sympathise with the Dutchmen.

(*Journal.*) "*December* 18, 1839.—The road lay for a short way along the beach, then struck into the thicket, and we commenced a gradual ascent. The scenery was most striking and lovely—glades and glens, grassy knolls, and slopes with scattered trees, and the voice of a hidden river, which reached our ears from a deep valley on the left hand. Proceeding thus for some distance, we at length plunged into the wood, and, descending a short space, found ourselves by the side of the stream below the waterfall. Here, breakfast being finished, we all stripped to our trousers, entered the river, and advanced along the bed of the river to the fall. The banks on either hand, steep and woody, prevented any other mode of approach, and the stream rushing down and falling over huge rocks, rendered the only available one anything but easy. At times we were up to the arms, then crawling out and stealing with care over wet and slippery stones, now taking advantage of a few yards of dry ground, and ever and anon swimming a pool to shorten an unpleasant climb. In this manner we advanced about half a mile, when the fall became visible; thick trees and hanging creepers intervened; between and through the foliage we first saw the water glancing and shining in its descent. The effect was perfect. After some little farther and more difficult progress, we stood beneath the fall, of about 150 feet sheer descent. The wind whirled in eddies and carried the sleet over us, chilling our bodies, but unable to damp our admiration. The basin of the fall is part of a circle, with the outlet forming a funnel; bare cliffs, perpendicular on all sides, form the upper portion of the vale, and above and below is all the luxuriant vegetation of the East; trees arched and interlaced, and throwing down long fantastic roots and creepers, shade the scene, and form one of the richest sylvan

prospects which I ever beheld. The water foaming and flashing, and then escaping amid huge grey boulders on its troubled course, clear and transparent, expanding into tranquil pools, with the flickering sunshine through the dense foliage —all combined to form a scene such as Tasso has described. (Canto xv., stanzas 55, 56.) Inferior in body of water to many falls in Switzerland, it is superior to any in sylvan beauty; its deep seclusion, its undisturbed solitude, and the difficulty of access, combine to heighten its charms to the imagination. Our descent was like our upward progress. Having again dressed ourselves, we rested for a time, and then started for Bonthian, wearing away the rest of the day shooting amid the hills."

CHAPTER VIII.

1839, 1840.

After Sapo waterfall, came the ascent of the Bonthian hill, where wild cockatoos abounded, but were spared, in spite of the natural history collection, because they were pet birds at home. Some baboons did not fare so well, though the males behaved gallantly, holding their ground, with threatening gestures and grimaces, to cover the retreat of the rest. And when one was shot, its companions assembled where it dropped, and showed fight when a man was sent to bring the body in, so that another gun had to be fired before they fled. The last part of the ascent was very difficult, but there was some satisfaction in believing that no Europeans had ever reached the summit before. The deed was signalized by a written paper placed in a bottle, sealed, and buried, a mysterious transaction carefully reported by the natives to their king. The old head-man of the district was very kind and attentive. He remembered the time when Englishmen were in Celebes, and spoke of his people's respect for them and regret at their departure.

On Christmas day (1839) Brooke dined with the Dutch Resident, who, although a native of the place, confessed to never having succeeded in climbing up the hill. Then Bonthian was left behind, and, entering the Gulf of Boni, the *Royalist* anchored, on the last day of 1839, amid coral shoals, close to the island of Balunrueh.

The Journal is full of the information Brooke gathered

everywhere concerning the country, its people, their languages, and forms of government. Of the various states, Wajo and Boni were the most important; and of the Wajo language he drew up a short grammar, laughingly remarking afterwards that it was a bold undertaking for one who did not know his own. The navigation of the Bay of Boni was most intricate, and the incorrectness of the charts aroused suspicion of their having been laid down from native information alone; some names were right, but the situations forty or fifty miles wrong.

The dangers of the sea were accompanied by perils on shore; for all manner of rumours had preceded the ship. Five vessels, it was said, were on their way to form an alliance with the King to expel the Dutch, and in case of refusal to declare war; and the Boni monarch, though partly reassured by seeing only the schooner, was not entirely comfortable, and Brooke's temper, and still more that of his men, was tried by repeated refusals to supply water, and by vexations of different kinds. Among other charges, they were accused of spreading some contagious disease through the country, so that wherever they had landed hundreds had died.

(*Journal.*) "*January* 17, 1840.—My patience is greatly tried by this petty persecution, and forbearance almost forsakes me. To secure my little remaining stock, however, I shall proceed to-morrow to Peneké, which is on the sea-coast of the Wajo country.

"How different are one's feelings in a state of calm from what they are when roused by continual opposition and insult! Yet I must ever stamp it on my mind, ever and ever recur to the same just principle, that any collision with these poor people would be as barbarous as unjustifiable. It rests with me alone to forbear. All about me would plunge forward, take and give offence, and cause the shedding of blood, and innocent blood! Patience, patience, then! Patience!"

And patience won the day. Every opportunity of friendly intercourse with the people was seized; and Brooke observes, "Where a man has nothing to conceal he makes an excellent diplomatist."

What had brought the Englishman to their far country was a puzzle to the people; and how he gained his income, if, as he told them, he did not trade. To his answer that most of his countrymen liked to travel, and that he had a fortune of his own, they suggested that he must then be a relation of our Queen. Another mystery they desired him to explain was, why we had given back Java to the Dutch—and did not the Dutch pay tribute for it?

Though only four months in Celebes, we find him before his departure consulted confidentially by the Wajo chiefs in a political crisis. The government of Wajo—the highest offices of which might be held by women—consisted of six hereditary rajas; three pangerans, or tribunes of the people; a council of forty; and a general council. Head of all, elected by the six rajas, the pangerans having the right of veto, was the Aru Matoah. For some years previous to Brooke's visit, this office had been in abeyance; various troubles had arisen in consequence, and he now did his best to persuade the chiefs to lay aside their jealousies and elect their head. That he was successful appears by this letter which was sent to him some time afterwards—

"This is the epistle of Laputongei, Raja of Wajo, and Consort, to Mr. James Brooke, and to the Company of Merchants at Singapore.

"The Prince Laduka bows, embraces, and kisses his father Mr. Brooke, and presents the compliments of the Queen Arutempih.

"This is our statement. We have all conferred as to making Rearing Tuah, the Aru Matoah, and did so after your departure. The people of Wajo have also conferred with their rajas, and have sent to Boni and Sopeng twice, but have not yet received an answer. Sopeng would have given an answer but was afraid to do it before Boni. This is the reason why we have as yet received no answer.

"We now let fly this writing to Singapore, under this our seal, both we and our people earnestly hoping to meet Mr.

Brooke as soon as may be, in the Bugis country, now in this monsoon. We make known to the Singapore merchants that all our traders are in the habit of coming to us, declaring they can in no wise endure the restraints of the Dutch, since once we could bring English goods to this and other countries, whereas now they utterly forbid us. How can we get a livelihood in this way? We now ask, we and our traders, what think ye—is this right? To us it seems out of the question, if things go on so, that Singapore can ever be much of a place.

"As a mere sign of our regard, for there is no substance in it, Laputongei sends to Mr. Brooke two pieces of Bugis cloth, and to Mr. Boustead a couple of bags of coffee.

"Given in the country of Wajo, on the 15th day of the month Jumadal Akhir, on Tuesday 1257."

At the installation of an Aru Matoah it was customary for the elected chief to say in the presence of a large assembly—"I am foolish—I am pusillanimous—I am poor!" To which the crowd respond—"Wajo is wise—Wajo is brave—Wajo is rich!"

The government of Boni was far more despotic than that of Wajo, and the court etiquette very severe.

(*Journal.*) "When the Patamankowé (Chief Raja) sits, all sit; when he rises, all rise. So far things are within reasonable bounds; but should he ride and fall from his horse, all about him must fall from theirs. If he bathe, all must bathe too, and those passing, go into the water in the dress, good or bad, they may chance to have on."

The insight obtained into the various forms of native government stirred in Brooke's mind a question of never ceasing interest to him, viz., the practical result of European intercourse with the coloured races from the earliest periods to the present time. After detailing fully the constitution of Wajo, he goes on to say—

"The government of Wajo, though ruled by feudal and arbitrary rajas, though cumbersome and slow in its move-

ments, and defective in its administration of equal justice, yet possesses many claims to our admiration, and bears a striking resemblance to the government of feudal times, or rather that period in the Low Countries when the rights of free citizens were first acknowledged. I regret, however, my being compelled to give many details which show that their practice is very much at variance with their written laws; and it is a matter of still greater regret, that in that progressive and imperceptible march of improvement which marks the prosperity of young states, they are altogether wanting. Our judgment, however, of their faults must be mild when we consider that, amid all the nations of the East professing the Mahomedan religion, the Bugis alone have arrived at the threshold of recognized rights, and have alone emancipated themselves from the fetters of despotism.

"It is contended, and will always be contended, that the location of a just and liberal European people amid uncivilized or demi-civilized races, is calculated to advance the best interests of those races, by the diffusion of knowledge, the impartial administration of justice, the liberal principles of government, and the increase of commerce: but taking the question in the most favourable point of view, granting that a government is all it ought to be, let it be asked, have any people ever been so civilized, especially where the difference of colour stamps a mark of inextinguishable distinction between the governing and the governed? Is it not as necessary for states as for individuals to form a distinctive character? The vassalage of the mass, like the dependence of a single mind, may form a yielding, pliant, and even able character; but, like wax, it retains one impression only, to be succeeded by the next which shall be given. The struggles of a nation, its internal contests, its dear-bought experience, its hard-earned rights, its gradual progress, are absolutely necessary to the development of freedom. Any other mode, any patent means, is but reducing a people from a bad state to a worse, and, whilst offering protection and food, depriving them of all that stimulus which leads to the independence of communities.

Has any European nation ever been civilized by this process? The downfall of Rome was the first dawn of liberty to her conquered provinces; and what struggles, what bloodshed, what civil wars, what alternate advancement and retrogression, have marked the strife of liberty in our own country! How slow has been its pace! How severe the training which has impregnated the mass with the desire as well as with the knowledge of freedom! Could this otherwise have been? Is not dependence, however slight, an insuperable bar? I should answer, Yes. National independence is essential to the first dawn of political institutions, and that can only be effected in two ways; first, by the amalgamation of two races, the governing and the governed, or secondly, by the expulsion of the former. . . . . Are European governments so constituted as to advance the independence or the happiness of the native races? Our knowledge of the past and present must decide for the future. What says the past? What is it but a record of horrors from which the human mind revolts! We have the picture of innocent and of comparatively happy nations —nations prosperous and hospitable—confiding in the honour and integrity of Europeans. We seek them, and they are no more. These nations have been extirpated; their arts, their very language, lost in the march of this monster colonization, which now is to confer every benefit.

". . . . Lastly, I must mention the effect of European domination in the Archipelago. The first voyages from the West found the natives rich and powerful, with strong established governments and a thriving trade. The rapacious European has reduced them to their present position. Their governments have been broken up; the old states decomposed by treachery, bribery, and intrigue; their possessions arrested from them under flimsy pretences; their trade restricted, their vices encouraged, their virtues repressed, and their energies paralysed or rendered desperate, till there is every reason to fear the gradual extinction of the Malay. . . . . Let these considerations, fairly reflected on and enlarged, be presented to the candid and liberal mind, and I think that,

however strong the present prepossessions, they will shake the belief in the advantages to be gained by European ascendency, as it has heretofore been conducted, and will convince the most sceptical of the miseries immediately and prospectively flowing from European rule, as generally constituted."

Leaving Balanrueh Island, and sailing still northward up the Boni Gulf, Brooke came to Peneké Bay, and had a friendly interview with some chiefs in the village of Doping.

(*Journal.*) "*January* 28, 1840.—First and foremost was the Raja Lappa Tongi. His dress was magnificent—puce-coloured velvet, worked with gold flowers; trousers rather loose, of the same material, reached halfway down the calf of the leg, and were fastened by six or eight real gold studs. The jacket, buttoned up close, was fastened with gold at the throat and down the breast, and each sleeve had a row of golden buttons up the fore arm. A blue, gold-embroidered sarong or kilt was round his waist, over a handsome gold and jewelled kris; and on his head a light skull-cap of gold, neatly and elaborately carved. The other two Rajas were richly dressed in cloth of gold; and as the three advanced to meet me, surrounded by their numerous and wild-looking followers, it was a novel and pleasing sight.

"*January* 29*th*.—The Rajas came on board, and were well pleased, though rather sick. They had in going back (to the shore for a deer hunt) a rough pull against a strong breeze and dropping sea, and were, I doubt not, very glad to find themselves once more on dry land. It was late before we got on the grass-plain, looking out for deer, and we had not the good fortune to find any. The style of riding is sportsmanlike. A light bridle, like a bearing rein, is the sole equipment of the steed; and the horseman, twisting his hand in the mane and at the same time grasping the bridle, engages in the chase. They ride barebacked, and in the right hand carry a light hunting spear, with a noose at the butt end, ready to be passed over the deer. They indulge in no prancing, curveting, or needless exertion for the horse,

but remain as steady as the oldest sportsman in England. But the opportunity I had was not quite sufficient to judge of their merits."

Leaving the yacht, January 30th, Brooke started with five of his men, and, accompanied by Dain Matara, rode to Tesora, where they were surrounded in welcome by crowds of people firing guns as fast as they could load—"the nearer our persons the greater compliment;" and then, after a *very* public dinner, were spectators of the national amusement of cock-fighting. From Tesora an excursion was made to Tempe, on the lake Taparkeraja. From the Raja of Tempe Brooke had several visits, and with him came his sister, a fine-looking woman, with a train of thirty ladies-in-waiting.

"I inquired politely if the lady found herself fatigued, and was told, with something of a look of astonishment, that she was not. 'If I am tired,' she said, 'they must carry me.' It was evident my question appeared a needless one, as the very idea of so great a person being fatigued was impossible."

Leaving Tesora they came to Bontŏsoh on the lake above Tempe. This was Dain Matara's home, and here he did the honours, and gave Brooke a dinner "in the Bugis fashion: dishes and sweetmeats an Emperor might have enjoyed, though probably he would not have approved the style of serving up the repast."

"What life," continues the Journal "can exceed this in delight! Roving from place to place amid a friendly population—every want cared for; the day producing fresh stores of information and pleasure; our bird-stuffers in full employment; Murray with his charts, Theylingen with gun and insect bag, myself with my Journal, or, what is worse, entertaining Rajas! The sun now sinks over the blue hills of Si Dendring, and as I gaze on him I think of the Isle of the West—our native land! What son has she in a wilder land?

"Friends, dear friends, I think upon you too—the binding link to my country, and I wish for some magic power to enable me to bring the scene and place before your eyes and

minds: the lake and distant mountains—the dingy bamboo house—the dark figures seated around me as I write—the slaughtered birds—the scattered arms—the reclining figures of my shipmates—the touch of evening over the landscape, and the blazing grass on the distant plain! All this is easily enumerated, but not described. It is not the beauty of the scene, but its effects, which strike: the wild land, the distant clime, the uncertainty, the novelty, of the life, and its very simplicity. As the light fades I close my Journal, retire from the *window*, spread my mat, and soon shall lose all consciousness of the labours and pleasures of the day in sleep."

Nevertheless, after six weeks of this life, and being tormented nightly by mosquitoes, by cats with a "note different from any I ever heard, though common to the cats of this country," and by rats too bold, apparently, to be scared by the united exertions of himself and the cats, he was not sorry to get back to his yacht, and have "a bed to lie on, and a chair to sit on, a knife and fork to eat with, and books to read." Before leaving Celebes, news came that a Dutch cruiser had been despatched to watch his movements. "If she come," said Brooke, "I will give her a dance, and lodge her, mayhap, on a coral reef!" It does not appear that she ever came, and the *Royalist*, after coasting the entire Gulf of Boni, returned unwatched to Singapore, which was reached May 27th.

The funds devoted to his wanderings were beginning to run low, and Brooke's present intention was, after making another attempt to see Borneo, to work home by Manilla and perhaps China. He therefore quitted Singapore again for Saráwak, where he arrived, as his Journal tells us, August 29, 1840, sick, languid, and disabled, and never feeling more reluctant to enter upon an active life. Gradually, however, his strength returned, and his spirits rose. Muda Hassim gave him a cordial reception, and chiefs and people alike welcomed him back; but no progress had been made in the suppression of the rebellion, on the contrary, it raged with

greater violence, and armed tribes of Dyaks were assembled within thirty miles of the town. The chances of exploring the country seemed more remote than before; but having come thus far he was unwilling to leave at once, if by waiting a few weeks the restoration of peace might open the interior, and Muda Hassim constantly assured him this would be the case. Still it was dull work lying in the river doing nothing; and the dullness was not materially relieved by a present he received of a five-year-old Dyak boy, a little war prisoner. The keen sense of responsibility the gift aroused was no bad omen of the spirit in which the greater trust, now close at hand, would be accepted.

"The gift," he writes, "causes me vexation, because I know not what to do with the poor innocent; and yet I shrink from the responsibility of adopting him. My first wish is to return him to his parents and his tribe; and if I find I cannot do this, I believe it will be better to carry him with me than leave him to become the slave of a slave; for should I send him back, such will be his fate. I wish the present had been a calf instead of a child!"

"I cannot disguise from myself," is a later entry, "that there is a responsibility, a heavy moral responsibility, attached to this course, that might be avoided; but, then, *should* it be avoided? Looking to the boy's interest—temporal, perhaps eternal, I think it ought not: and so, provided I cannot replace him where humanity and nature dictate, I will take the responsibility, and serve this wretched and destitute child as far as lies in my power. He is cast on my compassion; I solemnly accept the charge; and I trust that his future life may bear good fruit, and cause me to rejoice at my present decision."

The boy's relatives were never found, and little Situ remained with Brooke, happy, contented, and very fond of tobacco.

The next entry in the Journal is—

"*October* 2, 1840.—Lying at Saráwak, losing valuable time; but pending the war it is difficult to get away, for

whenever the subject is mentioned Muda Hassim begs me not to desert him just as it is coming to a close, and daily holds out prospects of the arrival of various Dyak tribes. He urged upon me that he was deceived and betrayed by the intrigues of pangerans, who aimed at alienating his country; and that if I left him he should probably have to remain here for the rest of his life, being resolved to die rather than yield to the unjust influence which others were seeking to acquire over him; and he appealed to me that, after our friendly communications, I could not, as an Englishman, desert him under such circumstances. I felt that honourably I could not do so; and, though reluctantly enough, I resolved to give him the aid he asked—small indeed, but of consequence in such a petty warfare."

The aid begged for by the Raja did not appear to be more than the *prestige* his forces would acquire by the mere presence of Europeans; and Brooke had no sooner consented to go thus far, than he threw himself into his boat, well supplied with provisions, and by dint of hard rowing up Saráwak River in heavy rain, reached Pangeran Makota, in command of Muda Hassim's so-called army, at midnight. Head-quarters were at Leda Tanah, where the Saráwak River is joined by another stream. The country around was well cleared, and many graves bore witness to the population before the war. Here he remained for a few days, giving good advice, sweetened by as much sugar, tea, and biscuits, as he could spare, thankfully devoured by men whose rations had been rice and salt. They ate his food, but neglected his counsel; and feeling it useless to remain, he returned to Kuching, to find, for the first time, death busy among his little band. One of the seamen had died almost suddenly, apparently from heart-disease.

"Muda Hassim rendered me every assistance. A grave was prepared, and wood for a coffin, so that by two o'clock we proceeded to inter the dead. His last resting-place was situated on a gently rising ground. The ensign was placed over his simple bier, and he was carried by his shipmates to

the grave. All who could be spared attended, and I performed the service—that impressive and beautiful service of the Church of England."

A few days later, another of the crew was laid by his companion's side. It was a comfort to their leader that in neither case was death attributable to the climate into which he had brought them. He began now, however, to ask himself again how long he intended to remain, and to weigh the *pros* and *cons*. If he did not leave at once, the coming monsoon would detain him perforce; and the yacht was getting short of provisions, "which," he writes, "though but luxuries to gentlemen, that they can readily dispense with, are nevertheless necessaries to seamen, without which they get discontented, perhaps mutinous"—an experience realized during the return from Celebes, when food of British type was scarce on board, and grumblings plentiful in consequence. On the other hand, if by some rare chance the war ended, Muda Hassim had promised to go with him through Borneo. This was tempting; and then there was the Raja's "*very very sad face*" whenever departure was mentioned. Still, all things considered, it seemed on the whole not worth while remaining in such great uncertainty; and October 9, Williamson was sent to tell the Raja, and Brooke shortly followed. But "when I went in the evening, the little man had such a sorrowful countenance, that my heart smote me. Could I, he urged upon me, forsake him? Could I, a gentleman from England, who had been his friend and knew the goodness of his heart, leave him surrounded and begirt with enemies? When I told him I would remain if there were the slightest chance of a close to the war, his countenance cleared, and he gaily repeated that my fortune and his would bring this struggle to an end, though others forsook him." Three of the rebellious tribes had, it was reported, come over and joined Makota's force. If this were true, prompt action might finish matters; and Brooke promised to stay yet a few days, and to go up the river again to see how things really were. "If the Raja would spare the leaders' lives," he thought, "I believe they would

lay down their arms on my guarantee. But though he does not say that he will kill them, he will listen to no terms of compromise."

The 15th October found him once more to the front, urging Makota to attack the enemy's forts without delay; but Makota preferred a masterly inaction. It was true that some of the Dyaks had come over; these were followed by others, driven chiefly by famine, and Brooke did all in his power to clench their renewed allegiance by presents of provisions, etc.

"I think," he writes, "that they are trustworthy, for there is a straightforwardness about the Dyak character far different from the double-dealing of the Malay. A grand council of war was then held, at which were present Makota, Subtu, Abong Mia and Datu Maharaja, two Chinese leaders, and myself—certainly a most incongruous mixture, and one rarely to be met with. After much discussion, a move close to the enemy was determined on for to-morrow. To judge by the sample of the council, I should form very unfavourable expectations of the conduct in action. Makota is lively and active, but, whether from indisposition or want of authority, undecided. The Capitan China is lazy and silent; Subtu, indolent and self-indulgent; Abong Mia and Datu Maharaja, stupid."

The Journal here details Brooke's reasons for remaining: It was a novel kind of warfare, and interesting accordingly; his presence with the force would strengthen it, even if he and his men never actually struck a blow, and he had not yet decided to fight; the sooner the war was over the better for the country; and when victory should come, he hoped and believed that he might be able to stay the bloodshed that always followed native conquests.

"At our arrival," he winds up with, "I had stated that if they wished me to remain no barbarities must be committed, and especially that the women and children must not be fired upon. To counterbalance these motives was the danger, whatever it might amount to, and which did not weigh heavily on my mind. So much for reasons, which, after all, are poor

and weak when we determine on doing anything, be it right or wrong. *If* evil befall, I trust the penalty may be on me rather than on my followers."

The advance decided on in council began; but the delays and procrastinations of this motley army seem to have kept Brooke in a chronic state of remonstrance. Fortunately, with his energy there was united patience, and also a strong sense of humour that enabled him to laugh where some would have groaned, and eminently fitted him to deal with these "children of a larger growth." And by fits and starts he did get them to work. Their one idea was throwing up stockades, and making bamboo entrenchments, from behind which they might shoot, and these they did quickly and cleverly; but his proposal to leave the defences and attack the enemy was "treated as an extreme of rashness amounting to insanity."

The Journal continues—

"*October* 25, 1840.—The grand army was lazy, and did not take the field. About eleven a.m. we got intelligence that the enemy was collecting on the right bank [of the river], as they had been heard by our scouts shouting one to another to gather together in order to attack our stockades in the course of building. Even with a knowledge of their usual want of caution I could not believe this, but walked nevertheless to one of the forts, and had scarcely reached it when a universal rebel shout, and a simultaneous beating of the silver-tongued gongs, announced, as I thought, a general action. But though the shouts continued loud and furious from both sides, and a gun or two was discharged in the air to refresh their courage, the enemy did not attack, and a heavy shower damped the ardour of the approaching armies, and reduced all to inaction. Like the heroes of old, however, the adverse parties spoke to each other. 'We are coming, we are coming!' exclaimed the rebels; 'lay aside your muskets, and fight us with swords!' 'Come on!' was the reply; 'we are building a stockade, and want to fight you!' And so the heroes ceased not to talk, but forgot to fight, except that the rebels opened a fire from Balidah (their chief stronghold) from

swivels, all of which went over the tops of the trees. Peace, or rather rest, being restored, our party succeeded in entrenching themselves, and thus gained a field which had been obstinately assaulted by big words and loud cries. We kept up a firing and a hallooing till midnight, to disguise the advance of a party who were to build a stockade within a shorter distance of Balidah. When they reached the spot, however, the night being dark, the troops sleepy, and the leaders of different opinions, they returned without effecting anything."

The scene of this wild warfare was most picturesque—wood, water, mountain, cliff, all were there; and in the deep stillness of the night, the booming of the guns, the clamour of the gongs and the outcries, seemed to Brooke like the spirit of Discord breaking loose on a fair and peaceful Paradise. About one o'clock in the morning the noises died away.

"About six," the Journal continues, "I visited the three forts. The Chinese, Malays, and Dyaks were taking their morning meal, consisting of half a cocoa-nut shell of boiled rice with salt. The Dyaks were served in tribes, for, as many of them are at war, it is necessary to keep them separate; and though they will not fight the enemy, they would have no objection to fall out with one another, and the slightest cause might give rise to an instant renewal of hostilities."

This strife of tongues continued, but Brooke at last succeeded in getting some guns up from the yacht and making a breach in Fort Balidah, practicable for a storming party, when he proposed to Makota to take the place by assault.

(*Journal.*) "The enemy dared not show themselves for the fire of the grape and canister, and nothing could have been easier. But my proposition caused a commotion which it is difficult to forget, and more difficult to describe. The Chinese consented, and Makota was willing, but his inferiors were backward, and there arose a scene which showed me the full violence of the Malay passions, and their infuriated madness when once roused. Pangeran Housemen urged with energy the advantage of the proposal, and in the course of a speech

lashed himself into a state of fury; he jumped to his feet, and, with demoniac gestures, stamped round and round, dancing a war-dance; his countenance grew livid, his eyes glared, his features inflamed; and for my part, not being able to interpret the torrent of his oratory, I thought the man possessed of a devil, or about to 'run a muck.' But after a minute or two of this dance he resumed his seat, furious and panting, but silent. In reply Subtu urged some objections to my plan, which was warmly supported by Illudeen, who apparently hurt Subtu's feelings, for the indolent, the placid Subtu leapt from his seat, seized his spear, and rushed to the entrance of the stockade, with his passions and his pride desperately aroused. I never saw finer action than when, with spear in hand, pointing to the enemy's fort, he challenged any one to rush on with him. Housemen and Surradeen, like madman, seized their swords to inflame the courage of the rest. It was a scene of fiends—but in vain. All was confusion; the demon of discord and madness was amongst them; and I was glad to see them cool down, when the dissentients to the assault proposed making a round to-night, and attacking to-morrow.

"*November* 1*st*.—The guns were ready to open their fiery mouths, and their masters ready to attend on them; but both had to wait till mid-day, when the chiefs of the grand army, having sufficiently slept, breakfasted, and bathed, lounged up with their straggling followers. Shortly after daylight the forts are nearly deserted of their garrisons, who go down to the water more like a flock of geese than warriors."

When again Brooke renewed his proposal, the Malays were worse than before, and the Chinese would not go alone. A dogged and invincible resolution to do nothing possessed the force, and cold looks told the amount of their bravery.

"A council of war," the Journal continues, "was called; grave faces covered timid hearts and fainting spirits. It was clear that it was—No battle. We were all very savage, and I intimated how useless my being with them was if they intended to play instead of fight. 'What,' I asked, 'if you will not attack, are you going to do?' Oh, the wise counsel

of these wise heads! Abong Mia proposed erecting a fort in a tree, and thence going puff! puff! down to Balidah, accompanying the words 'puff, puff,' with expressive gestures of firing; but it was objected that trees were scarce, and the enemy might cut down the tree, fort and all.

"*November 2nd.*—Till two o'clock last night, or thereabouts, I sat on our rampart and gazed upon the prospect around shaded with gloom. The doctor was with me, and we ran over every subject, the past, present, and future. Such a scene—a rude fort in the interior of Borneo; such a night, dark but star-light—leaves an indelible impression on the mind, which recurs to it even after long years. The morning found us ready and no one else. The fort was left to ourselves. We waited and waited until two p.m., when I was made aware that all thoughts of attack were at an end. Makota, for very shame, stayed below; and I must say there was not a countenance that met mine but had that bashful and hang-dog look which expresses cowardice and obstinacy predominant, yet shame battling within. I asked them casually whether they would fly a white flag, and hold a conference with the enemy. They caught at the alternative; the flag was hoisted; the rebels were ready to *meet me*, and it was agreed that we should assemble on the morrow. But no sooner was the arrangement made than a thousand objections were started, and anything—even attack itself, though that was out of the question—was held to be preferable."

Brooke could stand it no longer, and leaving the wonderful army, much to its surprise and vexation, rowed back to Kuching, to tell the Raja that his remaining was utterly useless. But when Muda Hassim heard the decision—

(*Journal.*) "His deep regret was so visible that even all the self-command of the native could not disguise it. He begged, he entreated, me to stay, and offered me the country of Siniawan and Saráwak, its government and its trade, if I would only stop and not desert him.

"I could at once have obtained this grant, but I preferred interposing a delay, because to accept such a boon when

imposed by necessity, or from a feeling of gratitude for recent assistance, would have rendered it both suspicious and useless; and I was by no means eager to enter on the task—the full difficulties of which I clearly foresaw—without the undoubted and spontaneous support of the Raja. It was agreed, however, that negotiations on the subject should be renewed when I returned in the following year. I believe that the Raja was sincere; and, at any rate, it would have been ungenerous in me to have come to any decision in the affirmative, when I knew his distress, but was ignorant of his real feelings. For on any happy change in his position, contracts and documents would have been so much waste paper; whereas, by appealing to his best feelings and acting with generosity, he was more likely to take a personal interest in my nomination, and to procure the signature of the Sultan."

Saráwak, with other provinces, nominally acknowledged the Sultan of Borneo as suzerain. Muda Hassim was his uncle and also his heir-presumptive, but no appointment to Saráwak would be valid without the Sultan's consent. The immediate result of this offer was to send Brooke back to the seat of war, where, for the first time, he made the acquaintance of the Raja's brother, Budrudeen, who appears to have joined the force in the interval. With the easy temper of Muda Hassim he combined decision and directness of purpose, with an intelligence of mind that made him an interesting companion; and the Malay prince and the English gentleman very soon trusted each other.

As a condition of his return, Brooke had stipulated that the Raja should give him authority in the force; but with such undisciplined levies Muda Hassim's willing consent did not go for much, and it was more a question of what Brooke could win than what the Raja could give.

(*Journal.*) "We found the grand army in a state of torpor, eating, drinking, and walking up to the forts and back again daily; but, having built these imposing structures, and their appearance not driving the enemy away, they were at a loss what next to do."

With Budrudeen, however, to help him, fresh energy was infused, though there were cowards still, and it became too evident that Makota must be ranked amongst these, though before Budrudeen he dared not appear one. A battery was again opened on Balidah, under cover of which a storming party might have advanced; but Makota, afraid openly to oppose, threw every difficulty in the path, and, when he found himself overborne, declared that it could not be allowed for Budrudeen to expose himself to such danger.

"He represented to Budrudeen that the Malays were unanimously of opinion that the Raja's brother could not expose himself in an assault; that their dread of the Raja's indignation far exceeded the dread of death; and in case any accident happened to him, his brother's fury would fall on them. They stated their readiness to assault the place; but in case Budrudeen insisted on leading in person, they must decline accompanying him. Budrudeen was angry, I was angry too, and the doctor most angry of all; but anger was unavailing. It was clear they did not intend to do anything in earnest; and after much discussion, in which Budrudeen insisted that if I went he should likewise go, and the Malays insisted that if he went they would not go, it was resolved we should serve the guns, whilst Abong Mia and the Chinese should proceed to the assault."

So the Chinese advanced, and might have reached the foot of the hill undiscovered, had not their leader, Abong Mia, begun to recite his prayers loudly. This discovered the movement, and one man being killed, the rest squatted down, uttering still more vehement prayers, and then went back. That evening the Raja came up the river, but Brooke was not in a humour to meet him, and only heard that the chiefs were severely reprimanded, the benefit of which, where cowardice was stronger than shame, he doubted. Budrudeen was recalled and so far Makota triumphed. The policy of inaction continued.

"It was in vain to urge them on, in vain to offer assistance, in vain to propose a joint attack, or even to seek support

at their hands; promises were to be had in plenty, but performances never."

At length the leaders decided on building another fort to out-flank the enemy, and gain the command of the river. "The post," writes Brooke, "was certainly an important one, and in consequence they set about it with the happy indifference which characterizes their proceedings." While the work was going on, the enemy sallied out and attacked the party engaged; and Brooke, who was at a little distance with Makota, heard the usual challengings and threatenings, but could see nothing through the dense jungle. Then musketry began, and he was making his way to the spot, in spite of Makota's assurances that there was plenty of strength and the noise meant nothing, when a Dyak came running up, and with gestures of impatience and anxiety entreated him to go to the rescue. The Tumangong of Lundu had sent him, he said, to say they could not hold their post unless supported.

(*Journal.*) "I struck into the jungle, wound through the narrow path, and, after crossing an ugly stream, emerged on the clear ground. The sight was a pretty one. To the right was the unfinished stockade, defended by the Tumangong; to the left, at the edge of the forest, about twelve or fifteen of our party commanded by Illudeen; whilst the enemy were stretched along between the points, and kept up a sharp-shooting from the hollow ground on the bank of the river. They fired, and loaded, and fired, and had gradually advanced on the stockade as the ammunition of our party failed; and as we emerged from the jungle they were within twenty or twenty-five yards of the defence. A glance immediately showed me the advantage of our position, and I charged with my Europeans across the padi-field, and the instant we appeared on the ridge above the river, in the hollows of which the rebels were seeking protection, their rout was complete. They scampered off in every direction, whilst the Dyaks and Malays pushed them into the river. Our victory was decisive and bloodless; the defeated foe lost arms, ammunition, etc., whether on the

field or in the river, and our exulting conquerors set no bounds to their triumph. I cannot omit to mention the name of Si Tundo, the only native who charged with us. His appearance and dress were most striking, the latter being entirely of red, bound round the waist, arms, forehead, etc., with gold ornaments; and in his hand bearing his formidable Bajack sword, he danced, or rather galloped across the field close to me. The Lundu Dyaks were very thankful for our support—our praises were loudly sung, and the stockade concluded. Makota, Subtu, and the whole tribe arrived as soon as their safety from danger allowed, and none were louder in their own praise; but, nevertheless, their countenances evinced some sense of shame, which they endeavoured to disguise by the use of their tongues."

To follow up this advantage was Brooke's next object, and, although continually thwarted, he gradually gathered round himself the braver spirits. The best of the Malays joined him, Datu Pangeran with thirteen Illanuns followed, and the Capitan China gave him leave to take his men where he wanted them; so that he found himself already a chief of some magnitude. More skirmishing took place, always in bush and jungle, where the Europeans had the unpleasant consciousness that their unaccustomed eyes were very inferior to those of the natives in detecting hidden foes. Fresh forts were made, the guns mounted, and another bombardment ensued, the effect of which was to make the enemy wish to treat. But Makota was again the marplot. Happily, after this he went on a short visit to the capital; and seizing the opportunity, two chiefs, Pangeran Subtu and Sheriff Jaffer of Ensingé, came to Brooke. Sheriff Jaffer had lately joined the Raja's force, with seventy men, but he had seen enough to make him feel sure the war might be concluded. He did not, however, like to take the responsibility on himself, but if Brooke would share it, he would be satisfied.

(*Journal.*) "I replied, that our habits of treating were very unlike their own, as we allowed no delays to interpose; but that I would unite with him for one interview, and if that

was favourable we might meet the chiefs at once, and settle it, or put an end to all further treating. Pangeran Subtu was delighted, urged its great advantages, and that the meeting should take place that very night. The evening arrived, and at dark we were at the appointed place, and a message was despatched for Sheriff Moksain (a rebel chief). In the mean time, however, came a man from Subtu to beg us to hold no intercourse; that the rebels were false, and if any did come we had better make them prisoners. Sheriff Jaffer, after arguing the point some time, rose to depart, remarking that with such proceedings he would not consent to treat. I urged him to stay, but finding him bent on going, I ordered my gig, which had some time before been brought overland, to be put into the water; my intention being to proceed to the enemy's campong, and there hear what they had to say. I added that it was folly to leave undone what we had agreed to do in the morning, because Pangeran Subtu changed his mind; that I had come to treat, and treat I would. I would not go away now without giving the enemy a fair hearing—for the good of all parties I would do it; and if the Sheriff liked to join me and wait for Sheriff Moksain, good; if not, I would go in the boat to the campong. My Europeans, on being ordered, jumped up, ran out, and brought the boat to the water's edge, and in a few minutes, oars, rudder, and row-locks were in her. My companions seeing this came to terms, and we waited for Sheriff Moksain; during which, however, I overheard a whispered conversation from Subtu's messenger, proposing to seize him, and my temper was ruffled to such a degree that I drew out my pistol, and told him I would shoot him dead if he dared to seize or talk of seizing any man who trusted himself from the enemy to meet me. The scoundrel slunk off, and we were no more troubled with him. This past, Sheriff Moksain arrived, and was introduced into our fortress alone—alone and unarmed in an enemy's stockade, manned with two hundred men. His bearing was firm; he advanced with ease, and took his seat; and during the interview the only sign of uneasiness was the quick glance of his eye from side to side."

The rebels were chiefly of the Siniawan tribe. Their condition of surrender was Brooke's guarantee that all lives should be spared; this he had no power to give, and the conference ended with nothing settled except that there should be another meeting, when the same stipulation was advanced, and Brooke again repeated that if they surrendered it must be for life or death as the Raja pleased; all he could do would be to use what influence he possessed to save their lives, but the result must be doubtful. That he had influence with the Raja must have been known by this time through the country, and on his promise to use it in their favour the rebels gave in; but the question of how they should be protected until Muda Hassim's orders could arrive, very nearly broke off the negotiation, until Brooke declared himself responsible for their safety. They seem to have been entirely satisfied with this, and gave up to him their fort of Balidah, in its way a little Magdala, the key of their position, and to take which would have been difficult for even regular troops. To insure their being unmolested, Brooke gave orders that no boats should ascend or descend the river, and that any persons attacking or pillaging them were his enemies, on whom he should fire without hesitation.

And thus, on December 20, 1840, the war, which had lasted four years, closed. All trouble was not, however, over. The following day the Malay pangerans attempted, contrary to the order, to ascend the river, and were deaf to remonstrances, the prospect of pillage being irresistible; but Brooke stood in their path.

"Three hails," we learn, "did not stop them, and they came on in spite of a blank cartridge and a wide ball to turn them back; but I was resolved, and when a dozen musket-balls whistled over and fell close around them they took to an ignominious flight. I subsequently upbraided them for this breach of promise, and Makota loudly declared they had *been greatly to blame;* but I discovered that he himself had set them on!"

Meanwhile, at Brooke's order, the Siniawans burned their

stockades, and gave up their arms. It was far easier to make them obey than to persuade the Raja to show mercy. It seemed, indeed, at first as if this were hopeless, and after much pleading Brooke rose to bid him farewell, telling him that he intended to sail immediately, as, after all his exertions if he would not grant to him the lives of the people, he could only consider that the friendship between them was at an end. The touchstone succeeded, and the Raja yielded.

(*Journal.*) "I must own that during the discussion he had much the best of it; for he urged that they had forfeited their lives by the law, as a necessary sacrifice to the future peace of the country; and argued that in a similar case in my own land no leniency would be shown. On the contrary, my reasoning, though personal, was on the whole the best for the Raja and the people. I stated my extreme reluctance to have the blood of conquered foes shed; the shame I should experience in being a party, however involuntarily, to their execution; and the general advantage of a merciful line of policy. At the same time I told him their lives were forfeited; their crimes had been of a heinous and unpardonable nature, and it was only from so humane a man as himself, one with so kind a heart, that I could ask for their pardon; but, I added, he well knew that it was only my previous knowledge of his benevolent disposition, and the great friendship I felt for him, which had induced me to take any part in this struggle. Other stronger reasons might have been brought forward, which I forbore to employ, as being repugnant to his princely pride."

The rebels' lives were spared, but the leaders were required to give up their wives and children as hostages to the Raja, and their whole property was confiscated.

CHAPTER IX.

1841.

The war over, Muda Hassim, far from showing any inclination with improved circumstances to withdraw his offer of transferring the government of Saráwak, ordered a formal document, for the signature of the Sultan, to be prepared. He frankly confessed that Brooke had saved the country, and, moreover, had become necessary to him.

Meanwhile, in January (1841), tidings came of pirates having captured two Sadong boats bound from Singapore; and a pangeran being despatched to inquire into the matter, met the pirate fleet, and accompanied them to the mouth of Saráwak River, whence they asked leave to come and pay their respects to the Raja. The latter, before replying, consulted Brooke as to whether he would meet them. Rumour said their object was to carry off the *Royalist*, as they had been told that she had fifty lacks of dollars on board, and that her figure-head was solid gold. Brooke was curious to see the men, and thought it advantageous to make a peaceful acquaintance; he therefore put no obstacle in the way of their arrival, but took every precaution for the safety of his vessel, and awaited the turn events might take.

"The day arrived," he writes, "and the pirates swept up the river—eighteen prahus, one following the other, decorated with flags and streamers, and firing both cannon and musketry. The sight was curious, and its interest heightened by the conviction that these friends of the moment might be enemies

the next. Having taken their stations, the chief man proceeded to an interview with the Raja. Some distrust and much ceremony marked the meeting; and both parties had numerous followers, who filled the hall of audience and the avenues leading to it; and as few of the Illanuns spoke Malay, the communication was rendered difficult and troublesome. The pirates consisted of Illanuns and Malukus from Gillolo. The Illanuns are fine athletic men; their bearing was haughty and reserved, and they seemed quite ready to be friends or foes, as best suited their purpose. The Malukus were the principal talkers."

These Malukus, having had their bay in the island of Gillolo captured by the Dutch, were leading a wandering life on the high seas. Three only of the prahus belonged to them. The Illanuns, who filled the remaining fifteen, were returning to their homes at Magindano in the Philippines, after a three years' cruise, in the course of which, having worn out some of their boats, they had refitted themselves from plundered Bugis. The smallest held thirty men, the largest upwards of a hundred.

In the evening Brooke rowed through the fleet, and inspected the largest prahus. The force consisted of between five and six hundred fighting men. There was no concealment from him, and it was evident that the freebooters gloried in their manner of life. Their swords they showed with boasts as precious heirlooms from their ancestors, who were renowned and terrible pirates in their day. The profession, they complained, was not what it had been, but even in its decay they reckoned it the highest of earthly existences. "That it is in reality the most accursed," wrote Brooke, "there can be no doubt, for its chief support are slaves they capture on the different coasts. Every boat they take furnishes its quota, and when they have a full cargo, they quit that coast and visit another in order to dispose of their human spoil to the best advantage. The great nests of piracy are Magindano, Sulu, and the northern part of Borneo; and the devastation and misery they inflict are well known; yet are

no measures adopted for their suppression, as every European community seems quite satisfied to clear the vicinity of its own ports, and never considers the damage to the native trade which takes place at a distance."

The Journal continues:—

"The Illanun Datus and Gillolo Chiefs visited the schooner constantly and were always considerate enough to bring but few followers. We conversed much upon piracy in general, their mode of life, their successes, and their privations. They seemed to have but few fears of the Dutch or English men-of-war being able to take them.

"After being three or four days in company with these worthies, the *Royalist* dropped down the river to Santubong, whilst Williamson and myself stayed yet a few days with Muda Hassim in his house. We had a week's incessant torrent of rain. Nothing could exceed the kindness of the Raja with his brothers of all ages as our constant companions, We had one day a dance of the Illanuns and Gillolos."

In 1811 Sir Stamford Raffles called the attention of Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, to the subject of Eastern piracy. Thirty years had passed since then, apparently with no change for the better. His description was written from Penang. In it he says—

"At present piracy is considered as an honourable profession, especially for young nobles and needy great men. The numerous uninhabited islands and tracts of desert coasts on all the Eastern Seas, render it very difficult to put a sudden and complete check to the practice; but that which chiefly upholds it is the encouragement given by the Eastern Princes to their poor relations to subsist themselves by piracy. The Malay Governments have this, in common with the feudal States of Europe, that the chiefs are only rich in hands, and in the rough produce of their grounds. A prahu, or war-boat, can easily be constructed wherever there are hands and timber; and to man her costs no trouble to the chief of the clan or any of his family. To go a-roving is the next step, which implies no dishonour in the present state of Malay morals; and

having surprised some unsuspicious merchant, the pirate proceeds coolly to dispose of the goods thus seized wherever he can find a market.

"The old Malay romances, and the fragments of their traditional history, constantly refer to piratical cruises. In addition to the causes which I have already enumerated, it may be proper to add that the state of the Eastern population, and the intolerant spirit of the religion of Islam, have eminently tended to increase this practice. The Arab Sheikhs and Seyyads, whatever doctrines they failed to inculcate, did not neglect the propagation of one—the merit of plundering and massacring the infidels; an abominable tenet which has tended more than all the rest of the Alcoran to the propagation of this robber religion. All the great nations of the continent are in the same predicament as the Siamese, Cochin Chinese, and Chinese themselves. Cruises against the infidels were and are constantly certain of receiving the approbation of all Arab teachers settled in the Malay countries. The practice of piracy, however, is now an evil too extensive, too formidable to be cured by reasoning, and must at all events be put down by a strong hand; though precautions against its recurrence may be taken in the system which shall be adopted with regard to Malay States, by rendering every chieftain answerable for his own territory, and punishing in an exemplary manner refractory chiefs."

The document to be submitted to the Sultan took a longer time to prepare than its substance warranted; for it proved to be a mere permission to reside in Saráwak in order to "seek for profit."

"On my remarking that this paper expressed nothing, Muda Hassim said I must not think that it was the one understood between us, but merely for him to show to the Sultan in the first place."

The explanation was unsatisfactory, but Brooke accepted it. After much thought, he had consented to entertain the Raja's offer; only, however, on the understanding that

reforms in the government should be carried out, and that Muda Hassim should use all the influence he possessed to correct many grievous abuses. And he had found the Raja not only willing but anxious to do all in his power; for "it was the wish of his heart to see things mended." The misrule and oppression in the country were terrible; and a more powerful inducement to Brooke to remain than the entreaties of the Raja was the entreaty of the people, more especially of the conquered rebels. It was a curious state of affairs—the Raja clinging to him as his deliverer from insurrection; the insurgents equally clinging to him as to one who could save them from an unbearable tyranny.

In the face of all this, the formal document, whether full or meagre, did not seem of much consequence, and Brooke sailed on February 14th for Singapore, promising to return in three or four months, bringing a vessel laden with mixed goods for the Saráwak market. Muda Hassim, on his part, undertook to have a house built against his return, and antimony ready to give in exchange for the promised goods; besides engaging to renew the negotiations for giving over the government, and helping forward a plan designed for developing the resources of the country.

Mr. Thomas Brooke's assertion that trade was not in his son's line was partly true; and Brooke himself, writing later, says, "My head can compass general views about it, but the details I cannot swallow, not from pride, but from being both from art and nature unfit for it."

Nevertheless, it was wise to let the natives feel in a way they would understand the benefit of opening their ports to Europeans, and to strike while the iron was hot. So a hasty purchase was made at Singapore of the only vessel at all suitable, a schooner of ninety tons, named the *Swift*. She had little to recommend her, and the price asked was high; but time was precious, and her cargo was got on board as quickly as possible.

A letter to Mrs. Brooke, written April 18th, while this business was going on, shows us the inner working of events.

In an earlier letter he had told her of his plans.

"Do not start," he wrote then, "when I say that I am going to settle in Borneo, that I am about to endeavour to plant there a mixed colony, amid a wild but not unvirtuous race, and to become the pioneer of European knowledge and native improvement. All men of intelligence will look upon the undertaking with favourable eyes, for even its failure must advantage the trade of England, and give the poor natives a favourable impression of our countrymen. These are my intentions, and I have to tell you what led to all this. . . . . I might ask you to use all the interest you possess in forwarding my success, but I know it is little interest you have, and what you have you are not fond of using, and I hate private influence—I despise it, and if public grounds are not sufficient, I would not eke them out by jobbing."

Of the later letter as much is given as will not be a repetition of what has been already stated.

"My loved Mother,—I really have excellent hopes that this effort of mine will succeed; and while it ameliorates the condition of the unhappy natives, and tends to the highest promotion of philanthropy, it will secure to me some better means of carrying through these grand objects;—I call them grand objects, for they are so, when we reflect that civilization, commerce, and religion may through them be spread over so vast an island as Borneo. They are so grand that self is quite lost when I consider them; and even the failure would be so much better than the non-attempt that I would willingly sacrifice myself as nearly as the barest prudence will permit.

"Before I leave this place I propose sending to Templer a brief memorandum of the state of the country, the events which have led to my acquiring so great an influence, and the means by which I hope to hold and to improve it. Had I been other than I am, had I sought for wealth and aggrandizement, I should never have obtained the hold I have on the natives; and now that it is obtained, if self was the moving principle, I might gain something; but no real benefit would accrue to

the natives. I may be, my mother, my own enemy, but I never will be an enemy to the human race, or to the numerous tribes who look to me for aid. I will never desert the principles I have cherished in secret through my whole life—that any paltry personal wealth is scarcely worth the seeking save as a means, and that to devote a life to its acquisition is inimical to the higher virtues. I should like to be wealthy; but my present voyage finished, I need no great yearly income to make me as happy as I can be. I have resources in books, in my pen, and my reflections. I love children and flowers. I love nature in every phase; and with all these objects I can never want for a moderate share of content; and with your society, that of my sisters, and a few rational friends, I can scarce wish for more. This is taking the future in the quietest light; but I trust there may be marked out for me a more useful existence—an existence which will enable me to lay my head on my pillow and say, 'I have done something to better the condition of my kind, and to deserve their applause.' Their applause I do not seek particularly; but to deserve the commendation of good and intelligent men is a stimulus to pursue the path of goodness and intelligence. Are these dreams, my mother?—or are they the rational aspirations that should guide us? I believe the latter; but if they be but the former, they are dreams which you know I have long cherished, and which I will not part with now.

"I will try and give you a very brief account of what I have done and am going to do. From the Chinese I have received the most pressing solicitations to take up my abode in Saráwak, for they are well acquainted with the value of English counsels and integrity. The trade with the Chinese ought to be very great; and in three years they will yield revenue by means of a direct tax, which will compensate for the toils and troubles of the first year or two. I propose, then, dearest mother, to take up my abode at Saráwak for a year or two. My visits to Singapore will, of course, be frequent. I shall have my letters as usual, and I shall be employed in a

good work; if success attends me, it will probably be considerable; if not, I can only reflect with pleasure that my failure must go far to benefit the natives and increase the trade of England. I do not like the idea of a longer absence. I shall find happiness after failure in embracing you again—in case of success I shall run home by 'overland' in three months.

"To continue, my loved mother, let me ask you whether these views and endeavours do not deserve the support of my countrymen. If the Government, by placing me in an easy position, were to try the plan fairly, I am assured that perfect success would attend it. They might, by making me their Envoy, form a commercial treaty with Borneo, the very fact of which would insure Borneo her independence, and make me the resident Commissioner. On public grounds these things would be highly desirable; but my share in the transaction would be greatly diminished. When my memorandum comes home, read it with attention, and do work for me; fight, dear mamma, like a hen for her chickens, and do make our relatives interest themselves in our behalf. They will be proud of me as a relation even now, but I will make them even prouder yet.

"You know I want to be a knight, though you laugh at me, because *Sir James* would be an immensely important person here. Indeed, it is difficult to tell you how great the advantage would be; but you know what I have done, and whatever I may do is in spite of the most adverse circumstances. So, mamma, do stir yourself, and I will write a little more to-morrow. In four or five days I return to Saráwak. I purpose writing to dear Margaret ere I leave. Many, many loves! South Broom is in beauty now, and when this reaches your dear hands you will have the enjoyment of summer."

Meanwhile in Saráwak the aspect of affairs had somewhat changed. Muda Hassim was by nature indolent, and by nature and habit procrastinating. He does not appear to have repented of his engagement, but merely to have seen no sufficient reason for hurrying himself in fulfilling it; and

Makota, who had been no honest party to a negotiation that he intensely though secretly disliked, was not slow to profit by the opportunity; so that when, in April, Brooke sailed up Saráwak River with his merchandise, though received with an honourable welcome, he found no house built for him and no antimony ready; while, to add to his disappointment, he learned that Si Tundo, the only native that had charged by his side in the late war, had been treacherously put to death by the Raja's orders.

"Si Tundo is dead," exclaimed his old foster-father, repeatedly clasping Brooke's arm; "they have killed him! Had you been here he would not have been killed!"

Si Tundo was by birth a Lanun of Magindano. Of him, and of another Magindano man who died at the same time, Brooke wrote, "I have lost the two bravest men—men whom I would rather trust for fair dealing than any score of Borneons." Si Tundo is described as "tall, with small and handsome features and quiet and graceful manners; but towards the Malays, even of rank, there was in his bearing a suppressed contempt which they often felt but could not well resent." The entry in the Journal concludes with, "Alas! my gallant comrade! I mourn your death and could have spared a better man, for as long as you lived I had one faithful follower of tried courage among the natives! Peace be with you in the world to come, and may the great God pardon your sins, and judge you mercifully!"

On being remonstrated with for his breach of contract, Muda Hassim promised that antimony should be brought with the least possible delay; and on Brooke's saying that he should not stay, as his house was not even begun, the Raja really bestirred himself; and, after many provoking delays, it was completed. But no antimony appeared; and the cost of keeping two schooners, following on such heavy previous expenditure, was ruinous. The Journal entry runs thus:—

"I was assured that six thousand pekuls of antimony ore would be down immediately, and that whenever the people were set to work, any quantity might be procured without

difficulty; which, indeed, I knew to be true, as Mokata had loaded a ship, a brig, and three native vessels, in six weeks. The procrastination therefore was the more provoking; but as I had determined to arm myself with patience, and did not anticipate foul play, I was content to wait for a time. The *Swift* being leaky, and requiring repairs, was another inducement to me to lie by and land her cargo, which, ever since my arrival, the Raja petitioned to have on shore, giving every pledge for a quick and good return. At length I consented to let him have the cargo in his own hands on the assurance that the antimony ore—*i.e.*, the six thousand pekuls which were ready—should be brought down directly. Nothing could be more correct than the way they received the cargo, taking an account of each separate article, comparing it with the invoice, and noting down the deficiency; and the Raja himself superintended this interesting process from morning till dark. At this time, having agreed with him for the whole, as the easiest and best mode of dealing under the circumstances, I did not much trouble myself about the deposit; and my attention was first roused by the extreme apathy of the whole party directly the cargo was in their possession, overhauled, reckoned, and disposed of amongst them. Yet I had confidence, and was loath to allow any base suspicion to enter my mind against a man who had hitherto behaved well to me, and had not deceived me before. From the time the cargo had been disposed of I found myself positively laid on the shelf. No return arrived; no steps were taken to work the antimony ore; no account appeared of the positive amount to be received; and all my propositions—nay, my very desire to speak of the state of the country—were evaded. I found myself clipped like Samson, while delay was heaped upon delay, excuse piled on excuse, and all covered with the utmost show of kindness and civility. It was provoking beyond sufferance, but with several strokes which I considered important I bore it. I remonstrated mildly but firmly on the waste of my money, and on the impossibility of any good to the country whilst the Raja conducted himself as he had

done. I urged upon him to release the poor women (hostages) whom he had kept confined for nearly five months; and I guaranteed the peaceful disposition of the people if it were done. I might as well have whistled to the winds, or have talked to stones. I was overwhelmed with professions of affection and kindness, but nothing ensued. I had trusted—my eyes gradually opened. I feared I was betrayed and robbed, and had at length determined to be observant and watchful, when an event occurred which finished the delusion, and woke me fully to the treachery, or at any rate weakness, at work against me. My house was finished, and I had just taken possession of it, when I understood that an overwhelming body of Dyaks, accompanied by Malays, were proceeding up the river, with the avowed purpose of attacking a hostile tribe, but with the real design of slaughtering all the weak tribes in their way. Upwards of one hundred boats, with certainly not fewer than two thousand five hundred men, had been at Saráwak a week, asking permission for this expedition; and I was informed there was not the slightest chance of its being granted, when, to my surprise, I saw the expedition start. I was angry enough, and resolved instanter to leave the house, when who should come in, as if by accident, but Budrudeen, the Raja's brother. I controlled myself, spoke strongly withal but civilly, and sent him away, wishing he had not come near me; and, the boat being ready, I retired from the house to the *Royalist*. Their immediate recall was the consequence; for the Raja having denied his permission, those who fathered the act dared not persist in it when I told them it was an act of disobedience. They tried to frighten me with the idea that the Dyaks would attack us; but as I felt sure we could blow them away in ten minutes, it had not the desired effect. They had in the meantime reached Leda Tanah, where they were brought down sulky enough, and did show a slight inclination to see whether the people on board the *Swift* were keeping watch—for several of their boats dropped close to her, and one directly under the bowsprit, as silently as death; but on being challenged, and a musket

levelled near them, they sheered off, and the next day finally departed. The poor Dyaks in the interior, as well as the Chinese, were in the greatest state of alarm: and thence I gained some credit amongst them for my interference in their behalf. The very idea of letting two thousand five hundred wild devils loose in the interior of the country is horrible; for, though they have one professed object, they combine many others with it; and, being enemies of all the mountain tribes, they cut them up as much as they can. They all share in the plunder. Probably Muda Hassim would have got twenty shares. He *must* have given his consent, must have been participator in this atrocity, nobody being desperate enough to do such a thing without his orders."

These Dyaks came from the Sarebus and Sakarran rivers. Not daring to look the indignant Englishman in the face, the Raja sulked in his harem, and gave out that he was very sick; and Brooke remained in the *Royalist* instead of returning to his house. He was hurt and angry; past services seemed to go for nothing. Certain, however, as he felt of Muda Hassim's misconduct in this particular instance, he accepted his denial of complicity as making reconciliation possible. But there was another grievance. On returning from Singapore, a rumour had reached him of a vessel with English on board having been wrecked on northern Borneo, and he had in vain urged the Raja to send a pangeran to the Sultan requesting their release. As usual the Raja promised, and as usual did nothing more.

Week after week Brooke had waited, till at last, though his own path was by no means easy, he could bear no longer the idea of what this crew might be suffering, and resolved to go in search of them; while the *Swift* should be despatched to Singapore with a small cargo of antimony, a slight portion only of what was due, but all that he had been able to obtain. A message, however, stating his intention, had the effect of curing the Raja's sickness and bringing him out of his harem. He would see Brooke, and talk over matters; whereon the latter fixed the next day for the interview, and

meanwhile turned the present aspect of affairs over in his mind.

"I had lost much valuable time," he writes, "spent much money, and risked my life and the lives of my crew, in order to render assistance to Muda Hassim in his distress; in return for which he had voluntarily offered me the country. The condition of my acceptance had been discussed and mutually understood, and I had, in fulfilment of my part, brought vessel and cargo. Profit I did not much care about; the development of the country was my chief, I may say my only, aim; and on my arrival I had been delayed and cheated by false promises, which showed too plainly that he neither meant to adhere to his former agreement, nor to pay for what he had on false pretences obtained. But for the following reasons I resolved still to wait his pleasure. In the first place, it was barely possible that indolence and not treachery might have actuated him; and in the next place, if it was possible to arrange so as to get back an equivalent for the *Swift's* cargo, I was in duty and justice bound to use every endeavour before resorting to measures of force. As for the cession of the country, and all the good which must have resulted from it, I put these considerations altogether out of the question. I had been deceived and betrayed, and had met with the grossest ingratitude; but I had no claim, nor would any written agreement have given me one; and I was therefore constrained to submit. Every point weighed, I felt from every motive inclined—nay, desirous—to avoid rupture or taking an equivalent by force."

The interview with Muda Hassim was eminently unsatisfactory, though there was no lack of plain speaking on Brooke's part. "I pointed out the injustice of the Raja's conduct in detaining my vessel so long, the injustice of withholding the antimony ore, the delay in assisting me to release my countrymen, the cruelty of keeping the women prisoners contrary to his promise to me at the termination of the rebellion, and his utter want of faith respecting the negotiations for the government of the country." But questions and

remonstrances were in vain; Muda Hassim returned evasive replies and did nothing.

Three days more of vain waiting for the long-promised letter to the Sultan followed, and Brooke would delay no longer, but sent off both his vessels, remaining himself at Kuching with three companions. He would stay "to watch his creditor," and to make things right if possible; but the *Royalist* should not be detained from her errand of mercy, and the *Swift* should take her cargo to Singapore and bring back provisions.

So on the 25th of July (1841) both vessels departed, with orders to return as quickly as possible, and Brooke established himself again in the new house. He had determined to give the Raja two months more grace; trusting meanwhile, by simply living among the people and winning their confidence, still farther to strengthen his position when the time for action came. At present he could not clearly see his way, nor decide to his own satisfaction what steps of coercion he might be justified in taking.

"I must always bear in mind," runs the Journal, "that I am not acting for myself alone, and that my loss or gain is but a trifling consideration compared with my character for justice, and the impression of European conduct generally on the native mind."

And true to this principle, we find him now quietly reasoning out the course that would be just and honourable—the course an English gentleman should take. He was angry and indignant with Muda Hassim, but his anger must not go farther than words until he is quite sure that it will be right to act; and he must bear in mind that his feelings may unconsciously warp his judgment. The more he became acquainted with the Malay nature, the more clearly he saw the tissue of cunning, deceit, and intrigue that was interwoven in it; but, if this were so, and if, as appeared to be the case, they judged every one to be made of the same material, then the more reason for him to show them something better.

"For my own part," he writes, "I cannot play the hypocrite, even if I wished it. I cannot pretend a friendship where I feel none; and indeed, in my present extraordinary position it would be detrimental to my own interests to do so, because a European should never stoop to the arts of the natives; and my standing here must be a commanding and independent one, or none at all. I will carry on no system of humbug myself with Muda Hassim, neither will I allow him to carry it on with me. I suffered much at his hands on my first arrival, and bore it patiently; but it must not be again repeated. I have already pointed out the want of candour, and the deviation from the straight path, of some who called themselves the friends of better government. I have told them that, however perfect their deceit, it will never succeed with me; and I have sent them from my presence, perplexed, ashamed, and trembling. But the atrocities committed in the interior and along the coast are frightful!—and yet the latter might at any rate be suppressed. Robbery, plunder, murder, and slavery, close to our own—to British—possessions!"

There was nothing for it at present but to wait till the time allowed the Raja for amendment had expired. Meanwhile, Brooke kept clear of him; and whilst his companions by his desire taught some young natives their letters, stuffed birds, etc., he employed himself in studying the languages of the country, reading, and often in watching the Malays play chess, a game he delighted in, and which they played well, but rather differently to ourselves—the king, or raja as they called him, being allowed the knight's move once. The natives grew more and more to give him their confidence, and tale after tale of oppression and wrong reached his ears.

"One evening I was speaking to the chief of the Suntah tribe, and in their own phraseology compared a government to a fruit-tree, whereon many birds perched to eat. He immediately caught my simile, and continued, 'That is true, but under Pangeran Makota's government the big birds pecked the little ones, and drove them away, and would not allow

them to have food. We were little birds, and were pecked very hard. I will relate to you a saying—A plantain in the mouth and a thorn in the back. What is the pleasure of eating a plantain if you get a thorn behind? So it was with Pangeran Makota: he gave us a little, which was the plantain; and asked a great deal, which was the thorn. I want to eat no such plantains!'"

The habits and superstitions of the people were of continual interest to Brooke, and the questioning that we have already had a specimen of was habitually carried on.

The peculiar mode of burial practised among the Kayans is too curious to be omitted, the more so as it is accompanied in the Journal by the expression of the feeling which, with him, usually followed such investigations.

"When a man dies, his friends and relatives meet in the house, and take their usual seats around the room. The deceased is then brought in, attired in his best clothes, with a cigar fixed in his mouth; and being placed on the mat in the same manner as when alive, his betel-box is set by his side. The friends go through the forms of conversing with him, and offer him the best advice concerning his future proceedings; and then, having feasted, the body is deposited in a large coffin, and kept in the house for several months. At the end of this time the friends and relatives again assemble, and the coffin is taken out, and deposited on a high pole or tree in a particular direction. The deceased during the procession is repeatedly cautioned to beware he does not lose his way. 'Follow the road (they say) till it branches in three directions; be careful in selecting the centre path, for this will conduct you to your own country, whilst that to the right leads to Borneo, and that to the left to the sea.' After many similar cautions the coffin is deposited, and the assembly separates. The tribes of Kayans are described as exceedingly wild, but their superstitions go, at any rate, to prove a belief in a future state. Oh, that the banner of civilization could be unfurled amongst them! If the resources of their country could be developed by a more enlarged trade—if wants could

be created, and their condition ameliorated—if the disgusting feature of head-hunting could be softened down to its gradual abolition, it would be a proud reflection for any man. It is a task to which I would willingly devote my life, my energies, and my fortune; but I fear the resources requisite are greater than I can unassisted command. How many with wealth superfluous might enter upon this task with better prospect of success, and with comparative ease of mind, which narrow means will not allow; but still, as I am here, I feel as it were the trumpet-call of Providence leading me on as an instrument; and if partial success attend me, if I become but the pioneer, if others are doomed to reap where I have sown, still will I be content with this. That such an undertaking is meritorious and innocent, all must allow; but all cannot know the thorns in the path, the unceasing troubles which attend the endeavour—the temper, fortitude, and carelessness of life which it requires, to say nothing of the toils and frequent disappointments which it constantly entails. Be it so: I will work on; and if I fail, if I curtail my future means, I shall have the satisfactory reflection of a high duty performed, the fruit of which must some time or other become apparent; and reflection and conscience will help to support me in failure, and whisper that my countrymen will one day appreciate my labour and my sacrifices."

Week after week passed away, and neither the *Royalist* nor the *Swift* had returned, when, late on the night of the 2nd of August, the following letter was put into Brooke's hand, and effectually banished sleep:—

"Island Sirhassan, off Tan Datu,
"July 10th, 1841.

"A boat leaves this to-morrow for Saráwak; perhaps this may fall into the hands of Mr. Brooke, or some of my countrymen, who, should I not succeed in getting to Singapore, I trust will lose no time in letting the authorities know, so that steps may be taken for the release of the remaining thirty British subjects now at Borneo; which I fear nothing

but one of Her Majesty's ships will effect. The pirates are cruising in great force between Sambas and this, and have taken thirteen Borneo prahus, or more; they know that there are Europeans in the prahu, and have expressed a wish to take them. Our situation is not very enviable. The bearer of this has just escaped from them. I have been living ashore with Abduramon, a native of Pulo Pinang, who knows Mr. Brooke, and has been very kind to me. Trusting penmanship and paper will be excused,

"I remain, etc., etc.,

"G. H. W. GILL."

On the reverse of the paper was a statement that the writer was chief officer of the ship *Sultana*, from Bombay, which had been destroyed by lightning on January 4th. Forty-one of the crew, with the passengers, some of whom were women, had reached Borneo in a state of starvation and misery not to be described. The Sultan had permitted the writer, with two passengers, to go to Singapore to endeavour to procure the release of the remainder from their present "*very uncomfortable situation*," so the words ran, with an addition of "*I dare not say more*." The vessel which conveyed the three had been dismasted on the way to Singapore, and they were afraid to proceed from fear of pirates.

These, then, were the people that the *Royalist* might even now have rescued; but Brooke would not trust to this chance, and an instant and urgent request was made to the Raja to despatch a boat to Sirhassan, with a person competent to treat with the pirates. Muda Hassim allowed himself to be shaken up this time; and the following morning a boat was sent off to get some of Datu Pangeran's people, who, being Illanuns, would have influence with their pirate brethren.

Without his ships, Brooke felt like a log on the water; and as day succeeded day, and neither vessel appeared, fears of misadventure began to fill his mind.

At last, within a day of each other, both *Royalist* and *Swift* arrived. The report of the former was, that on reach-

ing Bruné they had been badly treated, refused provisions and water, and denied all intercourse with the captives—in short, had been able to do nothing beyond bringing back a letter. In this Brooke was informed by the Sultan that the ship-wrecked Europeans had entered into a treaty with him, to fulfil which two of them had been allowed to go to Singapore. Further, that the captain and his wife were willing to remain at Bruné for the present, and that therefore he saw no reason for granting Brooke's request. The treaty was evidently a ransom, which the Sultan would get if he could. But "There's many a slip between cup and lip." Tidings had been conveyed by the *Swift* to Singapore of the rumour of European captives waiting for deliverance, and of the *Royalist* having gone to the rescue; and a week after the *Swift's* return, the H.E.I. Co.'s steamer *Diana* came up Saráwak River with orders to inquire if Brooke's attempt had been successful, and in the event of its failure to go on and do the work. Learning from the captain of the *Swift* that he might reckon on the steamer, Brooke had told the people that one would come, but they doubted his word; and on finding him a true prophet were thoroughly frightened. He felt that his position was strengthened, but he would not use the advantage to bring the Raja to terms while the *Diana* remained. This she did two days, and then went on her way, to return again before long, having succeeded in carrying off all the captives, except a few sold into slavery, and taken into the interior before her arrival. The poor creatures had suffered great misery. On the plea of preventing their being plundered by his followers, the Sultan had desired them to make over all their property to him. This done, he kept it himself, and gave them in exchange a miserable shed, where they were almost starved, and their few remaining clothes bit by bit taken, while they were forced by the stoppage of provisions to sign bonds for various amounts. In this miserable plight the captain's wife had given birth to a girl, whose baby clothes were also seized. The first ray of hope was the coming of the *Royalist;* the steamer followed, and they were released.

After a few days' stay the *Diana* took them on to Singapore, the captain hoping to pick up Mr. Gill and his companions on the way. Brooke tried to persuade them to search for the pirate fleet first, and gave him ample information of its whereabouts; but the captain declined the responsibility. Not long afterwards Mr. Gill arrived at Kuching, full of gratitude to Brooke, the influence of whose name had, he said, been his protection among the natives, and to whom he entirely owed his deliverance.

By the *Diana*, Brooke sent letters home: one to his mother, in which he tells her again that if failure come, to be with her once more would repay any personal disappointment; and one to Mr. Templer. Both are dated Saráwak, September 14, 1841. To his friend he wrote :—

"I am in the most uncertain and uncomfortable state in the world, which means that I do not know whether Muda Hassim is cheating me or not, or whether I shall remain or not. These undertakings are ever liable to unforeseen terminations: and I the more regret it, because I believe the field a noble one, and success very probable; but this hitch is unforeseen indeed, for who could foresee that the very man who invited me to come—on whose part the offer was voluntary, and to whom I have been of essential service—could turn round upon me? Yet though I say so much, I must add that I consider it more 'Yes' than 'No'—idleness in preference to deceit. There are, however, difficulties with one or two rascals. My great allies are the Chinese. . . . If fine countries, wherein fine gentlemen could make money, were every day to be picked up, there would be so many claimants that I should have no chance when it came to elbowing and interest. Here it is a fight—it wants patience and coolness and resolution; any fool could embroil himself by hasty measures; yet I am almost out of my stock of patience, having for five months put up with delay after delay; and the worst is, all my people are urging me on, but I won't be driven, though I have a happy knack of letting everybody talk."

CHAPTER X.

1841.

THE respite granted to Muda Hassim passed with no change, and in August Brooke determined to act. The purchase of the *Swift* and her freight had been a serious expense, but were the Raja brought to terms the *Royalist* might be sold and money procured for immediate wants. A letter recapitulating in detail the agreement between them, and concluding with a positive demand that Muda Hassim would either repay the amount which he had induced Brooke to spend, or transfer the government, according to repeated promises, and giving the Raja distinct warning that if neither were done he would take measures to right himself, had received no answer, and Brooke gradually discovered that Muda Hassim could not be called a free agent. Makota, with greater ability and energy, quickened in this case by jealousy, and supported from Brunéby an influential pangeran named Usop, had by many obligations, and in other ways, bound the Raja hand and foot.

Shortly before Brooke's first visit to Saráwak, Pangeran Usop had intrigued to get the country sold, and, on Muda Hassim's resisting, had done his best to foment the rebellion. Unable to conquer his enemies, and having too much reason to distrust his friends, the Raja in his weakness had clung to his deliverer, and Brooke saw plainly that there must come a trial of strength between himself and Makota.

It was not long before that "most mild and gentlemanly rascal," as Brooke called him, gave an opening for attack.

"I found him out by degrees, and gathered up a little treasury of grievances all ready for use. He dared not openly attack me, so he endeavoured to tamper with my servants, and by threats and repeated acts of oppression actually prevented all persons who usually visited me from coming near me. His spies watched every party supposed to be well inclined towards me, and they were punished without reason or mercy; and, finally, some villain had been induced to attempt to poison my [native] interpreter, by putting arsenic in his rice. The agents of Makota were pointed out as the guilty parties. I laid my depositions before the Raja, and demanded instant investigation. My demand, as usual, was met by vague promises of future inquiry, and Makota seemed to triumph in the success of his villainy. But the moment for action had now arrived. My conscience told me that I was bound no longer to submit to such injustice, and I was resolved to test the strength of our respective parties. Repairing on board the yacht, I mustered my people, explained my intentions and mode of operation, and having loaded the vessel's guns and brought her broadside to bear, I proceeded on shore with a detachment fully armed, and, taking up a position at the entrance of the Raja's palace, demanded and obtained an immediate audience. In a few words I pointed out the villainy of Makota, his tyranny and oppression of all classes, and my determination to attack him by force, as neither the Raja nor myself were safe, and to drive him from the country. I explained to the Raja that several chiefs and a large body of Siniawan Dyaks were ready to assist me, and that the only course left to prevent bloodshed was immediately to proclaim me Governor."

Then followed a perfect transformation scene. Not a shot was fired nor blow struck. Muda Hassim became his better self, and Makota, deserted by all save a few slaves, retreated from the field.

An explicit agreement was drawn up by the Raja, in which he stated that, "with a clear conscience and integrity," he made over the government of Saráwak and its dependencies

to Brooke; the latter undertaking to make a small annual payment to the Sultan of Brunéi, and to respect the laws and the religions of the country. This was duly signed, and on the 24th of September, 1841, James Brooke began his reign.

"The principal people," he writes, "were assembled, and the agreement being read to them, the Raja informed them that thenceforth I was to hold the government. I expounded my principles, and really believe they were well pleased. We had great firings and rejoicings."

The women and children hostages were the new Raja's first care; and Muda Hassim, delivered from his evil genius, at once granted what he had before refused, reserving, however, twelve out of the number as wives for his brothers. Brooke was very indignant; but was told that except for him none would ever have regained their liberty; that the release was an act of great kindness and unexampled confidence in him, and that so far from being an injury to the women, it was a great honour and advantage. And on referring to the Siniawan chiefs, he found that they were satisfied, having obtained much more than they had ever dared to expect, and that they found no fault with Muda Hassim's assertion that it was the custom of the country. So Brooke put his European feelings aside with the best grace he could, though not until by another vigorous effort he had succeeded in freeing two of the twelve retained.

This release is referred to among other things in a letter to Mrs. Brooke, of September 27, 1841—

"My loved Mother,—My last letter must have caused you to think that my present undertaking was coming to an untimely end; but I am now glad to tell you, after much suspense, I have brought everything to a most satisfactory conclusion. I have written so long an account to Charles Johnson, which you will read, that it is useless to repeat any of the details, and I will therefore only add that, whilst I continue to enjoy the highest health, I have a mind buoyed up with the hopes of doing good. In such an undertaking we

must act on a large scale, or as large a scale as we can. It is a grand experiment, which, if it succeeds, will bestow a blessing on these poor people, and their children's children will bless my name. If it fails, what is it but personal inconvenience, the sacrifice of style and luxury? But I shall not sleep the worse for my bed being the harder, nor shall I be less happy in a cottage than in a mansion. Your surprise at the first intelligence of my having entered into this scheme was natural; but I derive great happiness in knowing that my mother appreciates the motives on which I have acted, and believes that I have that devotion of character which would lead me in the path of good, even at a sacrifice. Success will justify me to all; but it is those alone, who, seeing and knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, approve it on the whole, in spite of some prudential twinges, whose opinion is really worth having.

"My dear uncle's * illness has, I trust, long since left him, and that he is restored to health. I propose giving him a letter by the next return of my vessel; and I would rather have his judgment on what I am doing than that of any other person in the world. I must try to write to dear Margaret this time, though my time is cruelly taken up by public affairs. She will delight to hear of so fine a field for the spread of Christianity—a finer field cannot be imagined. A people (the Dyaks) so ignorant and so ill-used, with no religion of their own, offers the best opportunity for conversion to the truth. If I hold here a year, I propose entering into communication with some intelligent missionary, and taking his opinion on the best and most feasible means of establishing some of his brethren. I am inclined to believe the American missionaries in general superior to the English, not in religious qualification, but in their general system. They aim almost solely at the education of the young, and ingratiate themselves with the older people by the practice of physic, some knowledge of which they almost all acquire.

"My little Dyak is a charming fellow, and has quite lost

* Major Stuart, of Hillingdon.

all the subservient timidity of the native. I have likewise a Bugis, somewhat older, a very intelligent boy, but very passionate; and these two are taught daily to read English, and have progressed to ba, be, bi. The former of these boys I will, when he acquires a little more knowledge, have baptized at Singapore; the latter is already a Mahommedan.

"Your domestic news I know not whether to regret or rejoice at. The reasons for leaving South Broom are good ones; and even you, dearest mother, do not seem to have attached yourself much to the place, and being both expensive and non-productive, and without any particular claim on your affections, it is better, perhaps, to have got rid of it than to have remained. I really hope Anthony will purchase a place, because till that is the case he will never be fixed, and always changing. I have the same feeling so strongly that I declare I would rather have a cottage, a freehold of my own, than a mansion and park on lease for five hundred years, with a vile landlord somewhere or other, with big prying eyes, and an intelligent agent close at hand to see you did not convert oaks into fire-wood.

"*October* 1*st*.—I must now bring my letter to a conclusion with begging, and with conveying to you my first act of government. The unfortunate people who were conquered in the war—the rebels—gave their wives and children as hostages for their future obedience, and they have since been held captive. My first act has been to release these unfortunates from their miserable dungeon, and to restore them to their husbands. Is not this alone a recompense for many evils which I have suffered or may suffer? To restore upwards of one hundred women and children to their husbands and fathers —to bestow liberty on the captive, and happiness amid an entire population—may surely bring comfort on reflection. Now for my begging: I am very poor, but I want some things from home very much; so I must trust to your being rich enough to afford them to me. Imprimis, a circle for taking the latitude (Templer knows the direction); 2ndly, an electrifying machine of good power; 3rdly, a large magic-lantern or

phantasmagoria; 4thly, a rifle which carries fifty balls (Templer knows); and last, a peep-show. These articles will not ruin you quite, but do not put yourself to inconvenience about them. The circle and rifle I want very much; and the others are all for *political purposes!* Many loves to all. I shall have one more opportunity for writing before we are shut in by the N.E. monsoon for three or four months. God bless you, loved, loved mother! If I succeed here, with what pride and pleasure I shall clasp you in my arms! and if I fail, you will not love your son the less, or be less proud of him. I will not hope too much; but till you receive bad news you may be very content about me."

Among the shadowy figures that to the natives seemed alone to people the western world, Brooke found that Buonaparte stood out with a distinct individuality, and so the peep-show was to have the Battle of Waterloo, with Napoleon on his white charger.

"I apply to my mother," he says to Mr. Templer, "for I do not like to throw away more money, and whatever I can get must go on the country, and these things will not distress her."

In a later letter to Mrs. Brooke we find—

"So you were pleased that I wrote home for the gun and the circle and the magic-lantern; but if you make this the test of my confidence, perhaps I shall be induced to abuse it; however, I am going to confide in you by writing for more things, which, though not expensive, are very needful, and very difficult to be got."

The revenue of Saráwak, like that of every province in Borneo, was in a deplorable condition.

(*Journal.*) "The Sultan and his chiefs rob all classes of Malays to the utmost of their power; the Malays rob the Dyaks, and the Dyaks hide their goods as much as they dare, consistent with the safety of their wives and children. The usual way is for the Sultan to give, at a fixed price, some pangeran an order on the country for a certain quantity of

produce. The demand is made on the arrival of the parties, evaded, discussed. Intrigue and bullying on both sides follow, and then the matter is usually compromised for half a quarter of the required amount; otherwise, if the party to whom the order is addressed be strong, he sends away the bearer, and probably hears no more of it.

"The story told me by the three heads of the Sow Dyaks brought tears into my eyes, as they each in turn related their grievances. One of them, a remarkably intelligent person, addressed me nearly in the following terms. 'From former times we have been the subjects of the Patek of Borneo. The Borneons are the elder brothers, and the custom of old was that we should pay revenue and find protection. But they forgot what was right, and departed from the custom, and robbed the Dyaks and oppressed them. We have done no wrong; we listened to the commands of the Patingi, who was put over us by the Patek. If he did wrong he should be punished; but we have suffered because we obeyed the commands of the officer legally appointed. You might, sir, a few years ago, have sought in this river and not have found a happier tribe than ours. Our children were around us; we had rice in plenty, and fruit-trees; our hogs and fowls were in abundance: we could afford to give what was demanded of us, and yet live happily. Now we have nothing left. The Sadong people and the Sakarran Dyaks attacked us: they burnt our houses, destroyed our property, cut down our fruit-trees, killed many of our people, and led away our wives and young children into slavery. We could build another house; we could plant fruit-trees and cultivate rice; but where can we find wives? Can we forget our young children? We have asked the Patek to restore them; we have asked Pangeran Makota to restore them; they have told us they would, but have not; we cannot trust them; their words are fair, but in their hearts they do not mean to help us. We have now no one to trust but you—will you help us? Will you restore our wives and children? If we get our families you will never repent it; you will find us true.'

"What could I answer? I could not deceive them. As I knew not how to obtain their object, I therefore told them I feared it was impossible, but I would try, and they themselves should go and try at the same time. Poor unhappy people who suffer for the crimes of others! God knows I will aid you to the utmost of my power!"

Every system of exaction and extortion had its death-warrant signed when Brooke came into power; although he foresaw that the consequence would be a miserably small exchequer, for the Government had lived upon extortion. With the rise of the hitherto plundered and impoverished country, taxes might be imposed, but until then his private fortune must, if needs be, serve not only for the support of the Government, but also to maintain the needy and greedy pangerans, who could no longer be suffered to help themselves. A long letter to Mr. Templer, written towards the close of this year, details some of his difficulties and views—

"The two Dyak tribes of Sarebus and Sakarran are warlike and piratical, and the former has quite thrown off the rule of Borneo, the latter nearly so. They can scarcely be looked upon as specimens of what the Dyaks generally are, for they have grown powerful by impunity, and from the weakness of the Borneo Government. On their piratical and head-hunting excursions they are generally accompanied by a sprinkling of Malays. I saw here one hundred war prahus, and they had forty more waiting for them at the mouth of the river. These prahus carry from fifty to twenty-five men, and carry their devastations from their own river as far as Banjar Massin, murdering and robbing whoever falls in their way.

"It is of the hill Dyaks, however, I would particularly write, for a more wretchedly-oppressed race is not to be found, or one more deserving the commiseration of the humane. Though industrious, they never reap what they sow; though their country is rich in produce, they are obliged to yield it all to their oppressors; though yielding all beyond their bare sustenance, they rarely can preserve half their children, and often—too often—are robbed of them all, with their wives.

This may appear to you somewhat an exaggerated picture, but I have not given it the colour which it merits. All that rapacity and oppression can effect is exhausted, and the only happiness which ever falls to the lot of these unhappy tribes is getting one tyrant instead of five thousand. It is quite useless to try to explain the miserable condition of this country, where for the last ten years there has been no Government—where intrigue and plunder form the occupation of all the higher classes—where for a poor man to possess beyond his clothes is a crime—where lying is a virtue, religion dead, and where cheating is so common that I believe a Borneon would rather cheat himself than forbear—and last, where the ruler, Muda Hassim, is so weak that he has lost all authority except in name and observance. This is the country I have taken upon myself to govern, with small means, few men, and, in short, without any of the requisites which could ensure success. I have distraction within and intrigue abroad, and I have the weakest of the weak, a rotten staff, to depend on for my authority.

"Yet I do not despair, for amid these elements of discord there is something which may lead to success. In the first place, the Chinese are industrious, and I hope will be numerous. In the second place, the [late] rebels fear the Borneons under Muda Hassim, and will support me against him and them. Thirdly, the Borneons are few and unwarlike; and some sterm examples made among them will reduce them to obedience. The Dyaks, when they can once feel their good fortune, and know the protection I afford, will flock to me, and indeed it is so already with two or three tribes. And lastly, Muda Hassim—whatever his secret wishes may be—I trust him not—fears to break with me for two reasons: he does not know how to govern without me, and besides owes me money which he cannot pay. The first of these reasons is so potent a one that should he at any time break with me, there would be a fresh rebellion in a fortnight; and at present, even without the *Royalist*, I have only to hold up my finger to collect followers sufficient to displace him.

"The Sultan of Sambas and the Dutch are not unreasonably averse to my remaining here; and the former has just sent a brig for antimony ore, which he asserts is due by the Chinese. As the ore is my great staple, and as by agreement I hold it in my hands to meet my expenses, I of course refuse the supply, and on this point we are at present trying our strength. If he succeed, I may, and will, shut up shop, because it would be useless to play a losing game; and if Muda Hassim is allowed once to break a promise he will do it again. In that case I will collect the remnants of the money I have laid out, and cry, 'Hey, for Otaheite,' or New Zealand. It would be with deep regret I should abandon this field, for whatever difficulty or danger may be in the way of success, however inadequate the means I possess, yet success is worth struggling for, and the objects to be attained by it are of great importance. The commerce of the island must, in the first place, be developed, and no native commerce can be developed until the trader has a direct communication with the producer. Under the native system, conducted by native pangerans, a trade with Europeans, instead of benefiting the inhabitants, serves to injure them. The pangerans are educated without an idea of compassion for the poorer classes, who are driven to labour without any remuneration, or one so trifling as needs scarce be mentioned. There is no limit to the rapacity of the ruler, or the misery of the villagers, save the glut of the European market: and the more speedy the demand, the greater the misery. All their useful labour is abandoned, and they toil to enrich their lord. This lord fattens on the spoil, and he has a number of unprincipled rascals, who dog his heels and obey his behests, to whom he gives the pickings of plunder or rapacity.

"As an instance, let me mention the case of the antimony ore here. This ore has been the sole cause of all the war and bloodshed in this poor country; for whilst they were poor it was not worth any tyrant's while to take up his abode here permanently; but when the demand came for the ore several struggled for ascendency—the country was oppressed and

divided, and civil war was the consequence. Since the end of the war, Makota—than whom a greater rascal exists not—untaught by experience, has been playing the same game until stopped by me. The poor men were forced to supply him with ten peculs of stone for two rupees, which he re-sold for two rupees a pecul; and, not content with this profit, he added five hundred per cent. more by false measure, of which they dare not complain. It is this system of pillage I am fighting to remove; and if the natives once fall into better habits, the old ones can never be resorted to again.

"I am very decided on the great advantages to the commerce of the Archipelago by the development of this place, and more decided still on the vast field for Christianity. In a native state the missionary does not succeed, because his efforts are counteracted by the contempt and the indolence of the Malay rulers; and the oppressions practised on the Dyak tribes render them averse to all instruction which flows from the Malays or through them, and it is quite out of the power of the poor missionary to bring them relief or happiness. Here, however, this power would be his—he would be their guardian angel; he would be the local authority to encourage them. He would have every advantage, and his doctrine would be beneficially introduced by the amelioration of the temporal condition of a most unhappy race. I should expect a rapid advance in Christianity when once they were relieved from oppression.

"I have been very busy writing a paper for the Government or the public, as may be; . . . in short, I have resolved to make a push, because the objects in view will be greatly advanced if I can be placed above the hateful necessity of trading; and these objects are so little selfish on my part that I have a right to speak out on the subject and to be heard. The paper has been sent to Gardner, who is to endeavour, or who has promised, to lay it before the Secretary of State.

"For such ends surely a great nation, profuse in its charities, will not hesitate; and God knows I desire none of their money to find its way to my own pockets. I tell

Gardner, if the paper be published or printed, to let you look over, alter, and amend it, for it is written in hurry and amid ten thousand distractions. I hold well here, and doubt not the result if I do not break down in money matters. There is the rub! As a man of commerce I am a fool—fit to talk about the national debt, but as for saving sixpence I cannot do it; and you cannot know my situation. Daily, poor wretches in the last stage of starvation float down the river, and crawl to my house, and beg a little rice! I have not the heart to say nay; and this runs away with hundreds. The crop, however, will be ripe in three months, and then I shall be relieved from this doleful spectacle. To say the least, my bed is a bed of thorns; and I do assure you, nothing but the sense of doing right could support me through my difficulties; and I am alone—for though my companions, or rather followers, are really good and faithful, yet they are not society. Whether I get any aid or not, I am going to put down piracy next year; and if that fifty-barrel gun comes, so much the better. Such a state of things cannot be allowed to exist near a gentleman, and it will be easily put an end to when the said gentleman applies himself to the task in person. . . . Fear nothing for me; the decision is in higher Hands; and I am as willing to die as live, in the present undertaking, if my death can benefit the poor people. Pray help me the whole hog; and do, if possible, relieve me from the pecuniary burden of this task, for it is that I do not like. Poverty I care not for; but pecuniary debt is hateful."

As much of the substance of the paper referred to has been already given, a few extracts from it will suffice—

"Amid the numerous plans for the extension of commerce, the propagation of Christianity, or the amelioration of an interesting but most unhappy aboriginal race, my present undertaking may merit attention; and I trust it may claim a candid consideration, as being divested of all personal views of advantage, except such as may ultimately flow from the improvements of the country. Of the time I have already devoted, in order to acquire a knowledge of this island, and of

the pecuniary sacrifices I have made to benefit the people, you are well aware; and it is only for me, in alluding to these circumstances, to add that although anxious to see a settlement under British influence and protection established here, I am indifferent whether it be formed under my own superintendence, or under the direction of others, and am willing to transfer the rights and interests I have acquired to any successor who, with better means and better support, shall be able more effectually to carry my views into execution. I wish it, therefore, to be understood, that on public grounds only I request the support of Government, or the assistance of the commercial community; that my objects are to call into existence the resources of one of the richest and most extensive islands of the globe, to relieve an industrious people from oppression, and to check, and if possible suppress, piracy and the slave trade, which are openly carried on within a short distance of three European settlements, on a scale and system revolting to humanity. The objects are by no means so difficult to accomplish as may at first sight appear; and whilst I devote myself to this task, I cannot but hope it will excite the interest which it appears to me to deserve; and that, as I have already borne all the brunt, I shall not be left to bear all the burden likewise. It is evident that the success of such an undertaking must depend greatly on the means which are employed; and though the limited resources of an individual may render the result doubtful, yet, with means better adequate to the end in view, it may be reduced nearly to a certainty; and the advantages flowing from success must overpay a thousand-fold the moderate outlay dictated by humanity, and risked for the extension of commerce.

"Convinced, as I am, of the good that must result both to Malays and Dyaks from even my own endeavours, and resolved to persevere in them (as, if I fail in all I propose, I shall at least pave the way for future improvement, and leave, I trust, a favourable impression of English character), yet to enable others to judge of the reasons for my conviction, it will be necessary for me to enter into some brief details on the

following points:—1, the Government of Borneo; 2, the description of the country, its inhabitants, and produce; 3. my own past and present proceedings and future prospects, the difficulties yet to be encountered, and the means necessary to insure success.

"After residing amongst this people, and becoming intimately acquainted with their character and many virtues—after witnessing their suffering and patience, and being firmly convinced of the facilities with which they might be improved—after struggling for a year to protect them, and after acquiring their slowly-bestowed confidence—it cannot be a matter of surprise that I appeal in their behalf to that generosity which I am led to think aids the distressed and commiserates the sufferings of our fellow-creatures. If a case of misery ever called for help, it is here; and the act of humanity which redeems the Dyak race from their condition of unparalleled wretchedness, will open a path for religion and for commerce, which may in future repay the charity which ought to seek no remuneration. If the British public be indifferent to the sufferings of this unhappy race, now for the first time made known to them—if, when the means of ameliorating this inhuman state of things are pointed out, they turn a deaf ear to the appeal—they are not what I believe them to be, nor what they profess themselves.

"No arrangement which aims at developing the country and assisting the Dyak races shall meet with obstruction from me; for I wish it to be clearly understood that I consider myself as an agent whom Fortune has enabled to open the path, and that I am as ready to give place to a successor as I am to remain; and in doing either, I seek only to advance the object which I consider recommended both by policy and humanity. My own intentions will by no means be altered if I fail in rousing the attention and sympathy of those able, if willing, to enter on the task; and the only difference will be, that I must seek to raise the necessary expenses by entering on trade, in which case my position will be less influential and less useful than it would otherwise be, and my attention dis-

tracted by details foreign to my principal object. If my own advantage were the prominent motive, the latter plan has more to recommend it, for at the present time nothing prevents my monopolizing the produce of the country, and holding its imports as a monopoly too; and if I wanted an excuse, I should readily find it in the example of my European neighbours. I am convinced, however, that nothing but a free trade will benefit this country, and call its resources into existence; but it must be a free trade which strikes at the monopolies of the interior—at Malay monopoly as well as others. That my views will one day be appreciated, I feel assured; but if delay be interposed, I doubt whether they will ever be acted upon, for we shall lose the trade we have if the Dutch encroach on the territory of Borneo. How much may be effected by small means I have already shown; and I am now holding the government of the country, with the Raja Muda Hassim's assistance, with only four Europeans and eight natives; and in the space of eight months from a state of distraction the country is peaceful, and its inhabitants cultivating the ground. The experiment of developing a country through the residence of a few Europeans, and by the assistance of its native rulers, has never been fairly tried; and it appears to me in some respects more desirable than the actual possession by a foreign nation; for, if successful, the native prince finds greater advantages, and if a failure, the European government is not committed. Above all, it insures the independence of the native princes, and may advance the inhabitants further in the scale of civilization by means of this very independence than can be done when the government is a foreign one, and their natural freedom sacrificed.

"Personal convenience and personal advantage have not been and are not my object; and, after devoting time and fortune, I shall retire with pleasure if others will undertake to prosecute the plan more effectually. And finally, if I appeal, it is not in my own name, but in the name of the oppressed and enslaved Dyaks. I appeal to those whose views of policy lead to the extension of commerce—to the religious body in

England, who may here find a field for missionary labour, too long untried. I appeal to the humane, who desire to suppress all the horrors of piracy and the slave-trade, and whose feelings would lead them to put an end to a state of things repugnant to every idea of right, and to atrocities not to be exceeded in any part of the globe."

Turning now to what we may call Brooke's home life, we find a complete contrast to the old state of weariness—

"As for the demon Time," he wrote, December 10, 1841, to his mother, "I know not how he flies. Day succeeds day, month month, and I have no *ennui*—none of that longing to be doing something, and the aversion to be employed on the merest trifles.

"You will read my paper with interest, as I think even an indifferent person will likewise do. My wish is to get the Government to assist me, or at any rate to recognise the place, and to enter into my general views of policy. . . . Agitate, dearest mother. Do not agitate yourself but everybody else, and I promise you we will succeed; and if arrangements can be made, I will run home for a space. I was very glad to hear you had Martha again, for I am sure you will both be more comfortable; and for my part, I would rather have a faithful servant about, though he were deaf and blind, than one of the new-fangled race, who change their masters as their masters change their coats. . . . I will send Martha a present when I can afford it! What would she like?—a monkey for a pet, or a box full of diamonds, or a ship-load of gold?"

To his young niece, Mary Johnson, he had sent in October the following letter—

"Did you ever read the fable of the flies and ox? The flies were so numerous that they teased him to death. So it is with me and my correspondents. Write, write—I cannot write to them all, and yet it is no trouble to them to write to me. Yet, spite of this, I am going to write to you to relieve myself from the endless details of business which perplex and harass me. Papa will tell you a good deal about me, and you

will hear a good deal elsewhere, so I need not write much about the country, but rather of the lighter matters. How I wish you could come here only for one week; for that time you would enjoy yourself much, for the scenery is beautiful, and when the beautiful is joined to the wild it affects the imagination far more than in a quiet and civilized country. Here we have wild people and endless forests; pirates on the sea, and predatory tribes on the land; and the notion that the ground we tread upon has never been trod before by European feet heightens the interest. I hope to be the means of reducing much of this evil to good, and extirpating the rest with a strong hand; and perhaps, when things have sunk to rest, you may come out with papa and mamma for a pleasant little excursion as far as Borneo.

"My house is not uncomfortable, being built entirely of wood, and raised upon posts. It is spacious, too, being 54 feet square, with a hall in the centre, two entrances, my room behind the salon, and four bedrooms in the corner. We see a vast deal of company, as every night the native gentlemen are with me enjoying their tobacco and conversing, the only things they ever do besides sleeping and eating. My amusements are few, and consist in shooting sometimes and preserving the specimens; superintending the clearing of the jungle behind our house, where I intend to make a garden. Then my menagerie is the most amusing one, and consists of a number of miscellaneous dogs, one cat, an orang-outang or wild man, one long-armed ape, two bears, besides other monkeys and smaller animals. We have, too, a thriving poultry-yard, and I have just sent to Singapore for some goats.

"Come here, dear Mary, and you shall have all these pets and as many lovely birds as you can take care of, but perhaps Charley and Freddy had better come first, sword in hand, and help uncle to put the people to rights.

"And after all it is not the wildness of the country, it is not the excitement of pirates or robbers, or the number of pets, which keeps me here happily and contentedly; and were it not

for the hope of doing good, of relieving much misery, of bettering the condition of an oppressed and amiable though rude people, and of introducing the advantages of religion and civilization, I should never remain here as I am. Indeed, my dear girl, few can know the trouble and anxiety I have gone through; and it is now that things look a little more cheerful that I may say so. Perhaps six months more will yet improve my condition. I write in great haste, and merely to inform you of my affection and constant recollection. A few years more and I should hardly know you if we met by accident, but what you were—the dear girl with the warm heart that loved her uncle—will never be effaced, and if when we do meet you find me an old gentleman, you must remember only the play-fellow of your youth."

At the close of this letter are a few lines to the Rev. F. C. Johnson—

"My Dear Charles,—I have been thinking that if you could get my letter to the Duke of Buckingham—not with a request, not with the expectation of patronage or assistance—without any laudatory remarks—as a subject of probable interest—it might be useful in the end to this place. He cannot but be interested; and let it work its own way."

On the last day of 1841, after a short summary in his private Journal of work done, Brooke closed with—

"Difficulty following upon difficulty, the dread of pecuniary failure, the doubt of receiving support or assistance—this and much more presents itself to my mind. But I have tied myself to the stake; I have heaped faggots around me; and if others bring the torch I shall not shrink. I feel within me the firm unchangeable conviction of doing right, which nothing can shake. I see the benefits I am conferring. The oppressed, the wretched, the enslaved, have found in me their only protector. They now hope and trust, and they shall not be disappointed whilst I have life to uphold them. God has so far used me as a humble instrument of His hidden providence; and whatever be the result, whatever my fate, I know the example will not be thrown away. I know it tends

to a good end in His own time. He can open a path for me through all difficulties; raise me up friends who will share with me in the task; awaken the energies of the great and powerful, so that they may protect this unhappy people.

"I trust it may be so: but if God wills otherwise—if the time be *not* yet arrived—if it be the Almighty's will that the flickering taper shall be extinguished ere it be replaced by a steady beacon—I submit, in the firm and humble assurance that His ways are better than my ways, and that the time of my life is better in His hands than in my own."

CHAPTER XI.

1842.

THE year 1842 was but three days old when the chief of the Sampro, a tribe in Saráwak territory, arrived with a few of his followers, in a state of poverty and starvation, to lay their tale of wrong before their English Raja. The Sadong people had come upon their village when the men were absent, burnt the houses after plundering them, and carried off twenty-two women and children into slavery. Brooke did all he could for them, and they returned happier than they came.

The same day news was brought that six men of the Sows had been cut off by a wandering party of the Sakarrans.

"This leads me naturally," writes Brooke, "to consider the means by which these atrocities may be prevented. I propose first to send letters to Sheriff Sahib of Sadong, Sheriff Muller of Sakarran, and Sheriff Jaffer of Linga, stating that I wish to be on good terms with my neighbours, but am determined to attack any place which sends Dyaks to rob in my country, and that I call on them to restrain their subjects from making incursions here. In case this warning is neglected, I must strike one blow suddenly, and keep a good look-out at sea. Sheriff Sahib is a great freebooter, and despatches his retainers to attack the weak tribes here, calculating on the Raja's presumed weakness that he can do so with impunity. He may find himself mistaken. This is the foreign policy. The domestic is as disturbed as the foreign."

An open court for the administration of justice had been at once established by Brooke at Kuching, and here he heard,

in patriarchal style, the daily tale of oppression, some of Muda Hassim's many brothers usually assisting him.

"As for a jury, or any machinery of form or law, it was rejected," he writes, "because it must be inefficient, if not corrupt; and the only object I aimed at was keeping witnesses out of ear-shot of each other, hearing the evidence, and deciding as appeared best. This simple plan insured substantial redress, and it gave all the people confidence in me, and a notion of what was right."

The next step was to draw up a simple code of laws, framed on the ancient code of Borneo, to which Muda Hassim had referred him as that by which he professed to govern, and Brooke found in it all he required. This was accomplished in January.

(*Journal.*) "*January* 10, 1842.—This day the first laws and regulations are to be promulgated in Saráwak, and as the event is a rare one, I here inscribe a copy for the benefit of future legislators, observing that there is an absolute necessity for mildness and patience—an opposite course would raise such a host of enemies as to crush every good seed—for, as it is, the gentlest course of justice brings down much odium and arouses intense dislike amongst a people who have had no law but their own vile intrigues to guide or control them. Two cases have lately come to notice which will serve as examples of their singular crimes. One poor man owed another sixteen reals, and the debtor was away trading for a few days, when the creditor sold the daughter, a free woman, for thirty reals, to a person of influence.

"The second case: a man owed a pangeran fifty peculs of ore, and proposed to make over to him in payment a freed slave woman and her four children. The woman *had been* a slave of his grandfather's but enfranchised publicly; and yet by intimidation they were near getting her and her offspring. Here the pangerans bully a man into silence; the people dare not as yet bring their complaints to me. But I hear these things, call the parties together, and often prevent the commission of a premeditated crime; by which

means I save myself the odium of punishing. There is great difficulty in acting at once with temper and firmness so as to appear the benefactor rather than the tyrant. It is indeed an arduous and troublesome task; but *I think I see* a ray of light to encourage me.

"Here are the regulations which I had printed at Singapore in the Malayan language:—

"'James Brooke, Esq., Governor (Raja) of the country of Saráwak, makes known to all men the following regulations:—

"'1st. That murder, robbery, and other heinous crimes will be punished according to the *ondong-ondong* (*i.e.*, the written law of Borneo); and no person committing such offences will escape if, after fair inquiry, he be proved guilty.

"'2nd. In order to insure the good of the country, all men, whether Malays, Chinese, or Dyaks, are permitted to trade or labour according to their pleasure, and to enjoy their gains.

"'3rd. All roads will be open, that the inhabitants at large may seek profit both by sea and land; and all boats coming from other parts are free to enter the river and depart without let or hindrance.

"'4th. Trade in all its branches will be free, with the exception of antimony ore, which the Governor holds in his own hands, but which no person is forced to work, and which will be paid for at a proper price when obtained. The people are encouraged to trade and labour, and to enjoy the profits which are to be made by fair and honest dealing.

"'5th. It is ordered that no person going amongst the Dyaks shall disturb them, or gain their goods under false pretences. It must be clearly explained to the different Dyak tribes that the revenue will be collected by the three Datus bearing the seal of the Governor, and, except this yearly demand from the Government, they are to give nothing to any other person; nor are they obliged to sell their goods except when they please, and at their own prices.

"'6th. The Governor will shortly inquire into the revenue, and fix it at a proper rate; so that every one may know

certainly how much he has to contribute yearly to support the Government.

"'7th. It will be necessary likewise to settle the weights, measures, and money current in the country, and to introduce doits that the poor may purchase food cheaply.

"'8th. The Governor issues these commands, and will enforce obedience to them: and whilst he gives all protection and assistance to the persons who act rightly, he will not fail to punish those who seek to disturb the public peace or commit crimes; and he warns all such persons to seek their safety, and find some other country where they may be permitted to break the laws of God and man.'

"The short experience I have already had in the native habits and customs of administering justice, shows how difficult is the task before me.

"To a people who, if they know what justice is, have never obeyed its dictates, its impartial administration in the mildest manner is a high offence; and, amongst the pangerans, each desires to claim an exemption for himself and his followers, and takes little concern about the rest. At all hazards, however, I am resolved to enforce justice and to protect property; and, whatever the results may be, to leave them in God's hands. Without this there can be no stability and no ultimate prosperity in the country; and my own character would be that of a mere adventurer rather than—what I hope it has been, is, and shall be—that of a man of honour and integrity, who is willing to suffer in a good cause."

Although in a real sense Muda Hassim had made over the Government to Brooke, he himself was by no means set aside or powerless. The motive power came from the Englishman, but the old machinery, guided, not destroyed, was employed. The three principal officers of state were the Patingi, the Bandar, and the Tumangong, all of whom had been in rebellion against Muda Hassim and the power of Borneo. On the submission of the Siniawans, the three left the country rather than submit to Muda Hassim, but, finding Brooke

remained, they returned and told him they looked to him to rule them.

The Journal entry speaks for itself—

(*Journal.*) "*January* 20, 1842.—Opened the subject of restoring the old Patingi, Bandar, and Tumangong, and found Muda Hassim quite willing, but wishing to wait till he hears from Borneo; at the same time telling me that I might employ them in their respective situations. This matter I consider therefore settled; and as these men are natives, and have the command of all the common people, and are moreover willing to serve under me, I conceive it a great advance in my government. Since my return here they have proved themselves faithful and ready; but though true in adversity, will they continue equally so in prosperity? I hope the best of them, especially as their circumstances will be easy: and I will endeavour to pay them as much as I can. Pay well, and men may be trusted. Either way, it is a great advance, for every change will not come immediately; and in the meantime I shall be strengthened by in-comers, especially Chinese, so that the parties may be balanced, and each look to me as the link which holds them together. The government must be a patch-work between good and evil, abolishing only so much of the latter as is consistent with safety. But never must I appear in the light of a reformer, political or religious; for to the introduction of new customs, apparently trivial, and the institution of new forms, however beneficial, the disgust of the semi-barbarous races may be traced. People settled like myself too often try to create a Utopia, and end with a general confusion. The feeling of the native which binds him to his chief is destroyed, and no other principle is substituted in its stead; and as the human mind more easily learns ill than good, they pick up the vices of their governors without their virtues, and their own good qualities disappear, the bad of both races remaining without the good of either."

Of these three we shall hear again, of Pantingi Gaffour specially. The Journal continues—

"*February* 1*st*.—The Sakarran chief Matahari,* or 'the Sun,' arrived and paid me several visits. He assured me he wanted to enter into an agreement to the effect that neither should injure the other. To this treaty I was obliged to add that he was neither to pirate by sea nor land, and not to go under any pretence into the interior of the country. He inquired if a tribe pirated on my territory what I intended to do. My answer was, 'To enter their country and lay it waste.' 'But,' he asked me again, 'you will give me, your friend, leave to steal a few heads occasionally?' 'No,' I replied; 'you cannot take a single head; you cannot enter the country; and if you or your countrymen do, I will have a hundred Sakarran heads for every one you take here!' He recurred to this request several times—'Just to steal one or two!'—as a school-boy asks for apples."

Other chiefs besides "the Sun" came every now and then to beg that they might go head-hunting *somewhere*; on which they were granted a laughing permission to go to Singapore and attack the English! "The Sun," with his companion Bulan, "the Moon," had been joint commanders of the piratical expedition which by Brooke's influence was prevented from ascending Saráwak river; but, notwithstanding this thwarting of his plans, "the Sun" was amiably disposed towards the Englishman. The latter describes him as being "as fine a young man as the eye could wish to rest upon—straight, elegantly yet strongly made, with a chest and neck and head set on them which might serve Apollo, legs far better than his of Belvedere, and a countenance mild and intelligent."

"I became very good friends," he adds, "with both Sun and Moon, and gave them a great deal of good advice about piracy, which of course was thrown away."

(*Journal.*) "*Suntah Cottage, February* 4*th*.—I am here on my first visit to my farm at this place. The cottage is situated at the junction of the Suntah stream with the left-hand river. The latter is highly picturesque the whole way from Ledah Tannah, with high banks, clear water, occasional

* Lit., the Eye of Day.

rocks, and a varied and abundant vegetation; and at Santah are all these characters, and the landscape one of sylvan beauty. The small stream of Santah, however, is yet more beautiful in my eyes, rushing along its pebbly bed, and over-arched with melancholy boughs that admit the tropical sun only in flickering rays. The scene resembles the Dargle in County Wicklow, but is far more luxuriant in foliage. Santah Cottage stands on a slight eminence on the river's edge, and the farm as yet presents only about three acres covered with brushwood and huge trees felled, but numerous fruit-trees, durien and landseh, have been spared. A second cottage, to be called Fairy Knoll, is in progress, and there is to be the diamond mine. The Santah river is famous for its diamonds. The workers seem jealous and superstitious, dislike noise, particulary laughter, as it is highly offensive to the Spirit who presides over the diamonds, and these cannot be found if the abode of quiet is disturbed. It is surprising to see people calling themselves Mahommedans presenting offerings to the Spirit of the mine. Fowls, rice, eggs, are weekly offered, but I was pleased to hear that they were sensible enough to eat up these good things afterwards. Hadji Ibrahim, a Chinese Mahommedan, with the most solemn face requested me to give him an old letter; and he engraved some Chinese characters, which, being translated, signify, 'Raja Muda Hassim, James Brooke, and Hadji Ibrahim, present their compliments to the Spirit, and request his permission to work at the mine.'

"This Hadji is a most extraordinary character, most industrious, with a tongue like an alarum-bell and the most blunt speech I have heard eastward of the Cape. Yet is he honest? I have some hopes he is moderately so, but it is not always the frank and open manner that denotes the virtuous and candid mind. My honest Iago may steal the diamonds if I look not after him. But if he is cunning he is a master of his art, for his language is most unguarded, and certainly dangerous to himself. Sitting near two pirates one day, before many witnesses, he exclaimed that pirates and Illanuns were the most wicked of men, and ought all to be put to

death. To the pangerans he holds the same language, and pronounces the Malays fit for nothing but eating and sleeping. In fact, he is an original—my diamond; and certainly, if I can trust one word he says, I shall have no reason to complain. On the whole, I am delighted with Santah; it is picturesque and beautiful, and a place where I can retire with pleasure to enjoy solitude and nature.

"*February 9th.*—The lamentable account came of the death of eight more Dyaks, cut off by the Sakarrans. It frets me dreadfully; however, on the whole I see a vast improvement, and a degree of confidence in me arising amongst the Dyaks greater than I expected. I have now on hand a serious matter of robbery to a large extent, and three of the Raja's followers are implicated. Would it were over and well!—but done it must be. As long as my laws are applied to the people of the country (the Dyaks) there is no trouble; but directly *equal* justice is administered it causes heart-burn and evasion. The rajas and pangerans are surrounded by a gang of followers who heretofore have robbed, plundered, and even murdered, without inquiry being made. It was enough that a follower of the Raja was concerned, to hush up all wrongs; and any of the oppressed who were bold enough to lodge a complaint were sure to rue it. All the rascals and ruffians who follow the great men find this species of protection the best and the only reward; and as the slaves are looked upon as personal property, any punishment inflicted upon them is considered as likewise inflicted upon their masters.

"I have all along foreseen these obstacles, and the necessity of at once combating them—whether successfully or not signifies little; but they must be encountered, and the result left to the Almighty. Equal justice is the ground-work of society; and unless it can be administered, there can be no hope of ultimate improvement. The country may have bad laws, but such laws as it has must be enforced, gently and and mildly as may be towards the superiors, but strictly towards the guilty; and all crimes coming under my cognizance must meet with their punishment.

"A most shameful mode of exaction and tyranny is practised by these Borneo people. It consists in lending small sums to the natives—that is Saráwak people—and demanding interest at the rate of 50 per cent. per month. By this means a small sum is quickly converted into one which is quite out of the power of the poor man to pay; and he, his wife, and children are taken to the house of the creditor to work for him, whilst the debt still accumulates, and the labour is endless. I intend to strike at this slavery in disguise, but not just yet; the suppression of robbery, the criminal department of justice, being more immediately important.

"Another instance of this oppressive system I may mention. Abang Pata, a Siniawan, son of the Datu Tumangong, lost in gambling to Nakoda Ursat, a Borneon, eighteen reals, which in eighteen months has arisen to a debt of 170 reals; but all prospect of payment of such an accumulated sum being impossible from a poor man, Nakoda Ursat consigns the debt to Pangeran Abdul Khadir, who can demand it by fair means or foul; and, if Abang Pata cannot pay, make his father pay. Such things must not be, and odious as they seem to a European, and indignant as they make him, yet he must not proceed with the strong hand. Reflection, too, teaches us that vice is comparative; and in forming a judgment we must not forget a man's education, the society in which he lives, the absence of restraint, and the force of example from childhood; so that what would be heinous in a Christian, long under a settled government, is light by comparison in a Malay, who is a nominal professor of Islam, and brought up with the idea that might makes right, and has not one external cause to deter him from crime.

"*March 12th.*—On the whole, getting on very well; but with many reasons for vexation, and more for anxiety. The chief of these is whether Mr. Bonham will come here, as I have suggested—or rather, pressed. Another feature of inquietude is from the Chinese of Sipang, who certainly aim at greater power than I shall allow them, and perhaps some day or other it will come to a struggle.

"Petty troubles I do not reckon, though there are enow on all sides, and for the last few days I have felt as if sinking under them; but that is not my usual temperament.

"*March 13th.*—The Chinese kunsi (company) of the San Tĭ Qu formerly made an agreement with Muda Hassim that they were to work gold or ore in the right-hand river. I could see that they were very jealous of any other kunsi being brought here, and if sufficiently strong would resist its location in the province. I was resolved, however, on the step; one company requires to be counterpoised by another, both for the purpose of government and trade. One would soon take the bit in its mouth, and run away with an infant government on its back, for there is no combined interest to oppose them if once established. At present they are few in number, poor, and dependent on me for food and every necessary. The agreement allowed them the right-hand river, and the permission to work the ore, but forbade the exportation of it without leave, and made no mention of any exclusive right in the kunsi to close the country against other Chinese. It was written in Malay, translated into Chinese, and signed by the kunsi and the Raja. This was all done before my coming; but the agreement had not long been in my hands when, some suspicion arising, I got the Chinese translation read by a disinterested party, and found that, instead of being a translation, it declared the gift of the entire country, 'whether far or near,' to the San Tĭ Qu kunsi, and that no other kunsi could settle in the country! Secondly, that none but the San Tĭ Qu kunsi could work the antimony ore! The Raja, when the plot was explained to him, was horrified and indignant; and without the presence of mind and judgment of white men, it was a most likely circumstance to have produced a massacre of the Chinese, in which case the world would have been edified by the report of Malay blood-thirstiness, but would have continued ignorant of the deceit and treachery on the part of the Chinese which occasioned it. This *en passant*. We had a great conference; all the Chinese head men, with a crowd of inferiors, four or five brothers of the Raja, with their

followers, a few Siniawans, and lastly myself and my attendants. On opening the conference (which was held in Malay and translated into Chinese), I explained how despicably low their name would become from such a deceit, hoped that it had not been intentional, called upon them as honest men to disavow it, and concluded by propounding to them a fresh agreement. They, in reply, accepted the terms I proposed, expressed their willingness to receive any number of men in addition to their body of the San Tĭ Qu kunsi, and called upon me to declare whether it was my intention to place any and what kunsi here. I declared that the Sinbok kunsi was to be located immediately on the left-hand river. To this they would on no terms agree, urging their prior claims, the assistance given by them in the war, and that others should come and eat the grain they had planted would be most unjust. I, on the contrary, argued that a specified portion of land had been consigned to them, and that they could not pretend to extend their claims to any other part; that their profits would not be less because others worked other ground; and that so far from eating grain of their planting, the Sinbok would eat only what was planted by themselves. Lastly, that whatever claims they had from their former services were invalidated by the deceit they had practised; and if they did not freely allow the right of the Raja to place the Sinbok, and guarantee that they would behave peaceably towards them, they must leave the country and return to Sambas.

"This was the pith of the argument the first night, when they broke up, about two o'clock, declaring it could never be, whilst I declared it must be, and that immediately. The next evening but one they came reinforced by all the head men, whom they had called from their settlements, and our party had many listeners. They opened the conference by declaring their willingness to accept the new agreement, their obedience to the Raja and to myself, their entire good faith and pure intentions; that they would consent to the Sinbok dwelling here, but requested, in consideration of their prior claims, that they might be called Sam Sinbok. *Sam* Sinbok

implies that they are dependants or slaves. I was prepared for this request, as it had been partially spoken of the night before, and therefore met the demand with a negative. Argument was heaped upon argument; one offered was that they were called San Tĭ Qu, which had three syllables, and it was better to call the others Sam Sinbok, which had likewise three! To this I replied that any term which implied equality I would receive, and therefore if they would style themselves *Sam* San Tĭ Qu the others should be styled *Sam* Sinbok. Their burst of indignation showed me how little they relished applying to themselves the degrading term they wished to affix on the others. I added, they ought to have a longer name by one syllable, and that they might chose to give both their present names or add *Sam* to both. We broke up late, they still resisting all my proposals, and trying to delay by requesting leave to proceed up to their settlement. I replied shortly that they could not leave the place except to depart for Sambas, and that their final answer must be given the next morning, and failing to reply would be esteemed tantamount to resistance and disobedience. Seeing how the conference was going, I had despatched messengers to prepare the schooner, arm her boats and likewise the war-prahus, and by the time we broke up everything was ready. In the morning they requested a reprieve till the evening; and on our meeting then, they conceded everything of importance, glossing their concessions by complaining of a few insignificant points, two of which I readily waived. So ended the famous conference, and I only wish a Wilkie had been here to represent it. Had they been strong enough, I doubt not they would have resisted; and even now I look forward to future trouble in that quarter; but by just government and fair trade they may be brought to good temper; and at any rate, the chances are we shall strengthen in a greater proportion than they will be able to do."

Sambas, to which reference has been made, was held by the Dutch under a commercial treaty with its Sultan, whereby they monopolized the salt, and the Sultan the opium. All

British manufactuers were as usual rigidly excluded. Here the Chinese had risen to power and almost to independence, lording it over Dutch and the Sultan, and occasionally carrying on little wars on their own account. Nominally the Sultan was under Dutch protection, and the paramount power might perhaps have kept both him and the Chinese in better order.

While this dispute with the Chinese was going on, Brooke had staying with him, on a three weeks' visit, the chief of the Lundu Dyaks, an old friend, who, having many troubles, came to talk them over with the heaven-sent Englishman, who seemed to have dropped from the clouds to put all crooked matters straight.

(*Journal.*) "I was able to do him substantial justice; and hope for the future that his life and that of the remnant of his tribe may be rendered more endurable. His residence with me was doubly advantageous, as it enabled me to ascertain his character, and him to see something of our habits and manners. The impression on my part was highly favourable; for I found him a quiet and intelligent man, and a keen observer; and I believe the impression he received was equally favourable. The poetry of the Dyak expressions is remarkable; and, like most wild people, they seem to delight in oratory, and to be a good deal swayed by it. For hours I have talked with this Orang Kaya, listened to his history, heard his complaints, sympathised in the misfortunes of his tribe, and shuddered at the wrongs and sufferings they have endured. 'We are few,' he exclaimed, 'and therefore our oppressions are aggravated. The same demands are made upon us as though we were many, and we have not the means of resisting or complying. We fly to the jungle; we are like deer—we have no home, no perch. . . . The Tumangong was severe to us; and when Makota came, he said the Tumangong was a bad man, and he would shield us; but he was much worse than the Tumangong. Now you say you will cherish us; we believe you: but you are at a distance, and perhaps may not be able. Pangeran Makota kept me nine months in his house, and wanted to make me a

slave, but I escaped, and travelled through the woods and swam the rivers till I came to my own country. He thought the Dyak had no eyes except in the jungle; he thought he had no ears except to listen to the Bird of Omen; he thought he had no wit except to grow rice; but the Dyak saw and heard and understood that whilst his words were sweet his heart was crooked, and that whether they were Men of the Sea or Dyaks he deceived them with fair sayings; he said one thing to one man, and another to a second; he deceived with a honeyed mouth. I saw and understood all whilst I lived in his house. How could I trust him afterwards?' These expressions were concluded by significantly twisting his two fore-fingers round each other to show the intrigues that were carried on. I grew very fond of this poor naked savage; for if honesty and a kind heart entitle a man to our esteem, he is worthy of it."

There was no regular communication with Singapore, or indeed with any part of the civilized world at this time; but the *Royalist*, under command of Colin Hart, her former mate, was made to do occasional duty as mail-boat; whilst at other times she would be despatched to Bruné or Sambas, by way of reminder to their inhabitants that Saráwak had become a power in the land.

In this way Brooke was able to send letters home. The two following were written in the spring of this year (1842). The first is to his mother.

"Charles [Rev. F. C. Johnson] writes me, dearest mother, that you get very anxious when any time elapses without your hearing from me; but you must remember that I write by every opportunity, and that when you do not hear, there is no means of getting a letter to you, and that you have no reason to be more anxious than between the intervals of our regular correspondence. . . . I must briefly tell you that things go on as well as I expected, or better, and though I have many difficulties and troubles, yet none such as I cannot surmount with patience or vigour. The native population of Saráwak and the Dyaks are settled beyond my most sanguine

hopes, and I have been able to ameliorate their condition in many particulars. My name, *the terror of my name*, and my personally watching the rivers from time to time, have deterred the piratical Dyaks from slaughtering our tribes for the last six weeks, and even this is a great respite, and shows how much may be done in future. Our own Dyaks are taking heart and gathering their tribes, which have been scattered and hunted before, and I have only had to complain of one Dyak chief, who has taken part in the opposition, but whose followers have deserted him; so that in a month I mean to elect a new head and displace the old one. The Borneons grin and are sulky, and never come near me, but they can do nothing.

"If it please God to permit me to give a stamp to this country which shall last after I am no more, I shall have lived a life which emperors might envy. If, by dedicating myself to the task, I am able to introduce better customs and settled laws, and to raise the feeling of the people, so that their rights can never in future be wantonly infringed, I shall indeed be content and happy.

"I want you now to send me out *my* picture of yourself, not rolled up, but framed and put in a case. The picture would be a great comfort to me, and I should look at it and kiss it very often. I have already fixed on a place for it in my sanctum, where all my treasures are deposited. I sit surrounded by these household gods. Let me tell you that everything is useful here—old carpets, hangings, bell-ropes, all and everything—the carpets the Dyaks like much as *war-jackets*. I wish you would become the lady-patroness of a fancy fair, and send all the articles to me; the young ladies can make housewives and female articles of adornment, purses, pieces of velvet of any size embroidered, etc., all of which my friends would be delighted to receive, and which would attach them greatly; small beads worked on cloth would throw the Dyaks into ecstasy. You see, I would fain give all the lazy girls plenty of work, and they might amuse themselves with bothering every acquaintance for contribu-

tions for 'the society for ameliorating the condition of the Dyaks of Borneo!' Perhaps, if they are very good, I will ask the Dyaks to give me a head or two from their treasures to return as a compliment!

"I hope by the next mail to hear from Emma: the last brought me a letter from Charles, and his letters are always encouraging. Though I cannot quite look at everything through the medium of his sanguine temperament, nevertheless it is very pleasing to be patted on the back, to be told I am doing right, to have him prophesy fame and fortune, honour and riches, as about to shower on my devoted head. It is very pleasant—but were it not for other inducements I should hardly persevere on these accounts, for never child sought bauble more eagerly than I do, but never child cared less for it when won. You must think me very silly to ask to be made a knight! It is not that I care about knighthood, or that I would seek it in England; but any honour conferred upon me in my present position is an indirect recognition of this place, and honours here and in England are very different. Here, that is at Singapore, as a knight I should have no equal; and amongst the natives it would be important indeed, for it would proclaim me a chief greater than the Governor of Singapore, or any other on this side of Calcutta. If, spite of all these good reasons, your *pride* or your *prejudice*, my dearest mamma, dislikes that your son should be a paltry knight, set to and make me a baronet or a peer!—and remember, now I shall be a Tory knight!

"I am glad the Tories have come in, because *you* will be pleased, and Anthony's occupation is gone of abusing the Whigs. At a distance I view these party struggles with all the indifference of philosophy, and I only desire the good of the nation, and a firm Government. Whig as I am, it is a matter of congratulation that the Tories have a sufficient majority, for a very equal division of party is the very demon of discord and faction. The great fight will now be the Corn-laws. It is a question of which few can form an opinion without greater means of judging than are generally open; but there is that

in the signs of the times which assures me it will be carried. The nation is in a state of transition, and I trust the Government will be wise enough to help us through, rather than attempt to impede what cannot be prevented. If they do so, they will have my good wishes, and those of most moderate men; but if they resort to patchwork, give a little from expediency and withhold much from interest and prejudice, they will wreck themselves and perhaps the nation. So much for politics! I had by *Royalist* a few lines from Mr. Bonham, Governor of Singapore, diplomatic but kind, and I think we shall see him here. I hope my exertions will induce the humane, the religious, and the enlightened, to assist me in some way; however, I am not sanguine."

The letter to Mr. Templer begins with hearty words of congratulation on his friend's marriage.

"Instead of looking forward to a diminution of friendship, I hope, on the contrary, to add another friend to the number of those I already possess. The period of marriage detaches us, has a tendency to detach us, from all unworthy acquaintance which is dignified by the name of friendship; but it is calculated to strengthen a real regard which has grown slowly and taken years to mature.

"I have not very much to tell you about myself, for my life is one of solitude, as far as communion with my fellows goes, and it is a life of much anxiety and trouble. I am, or fancy myself, an altered man, and, from the change, what seers or old women would call 'doomed.' I cannot exactly explain this change, but it seems to me as if I walked in the 'valley of the shadow of death.' Many things which interested me before, interest no longer; and it seems as if the stimulus of ambition, the love of change, the pursuit of pleasure, or delirium of wine, have no power upon me; yet I am happy and peaceful, more so, indeed, than when I had nothing to do, and am resolved, whilst God gives me strength, never to abandon the task I have undertaken until my efforts are of no further use. My position and prospects rouse some anxious and many serious thoughts, and it is the latter only which keep the

former in subjection. You give me credit for devotion; alas! had I known all that was required, perhaps I had shrunk from the task; but, instead of repining, I rejoice that I have taken it on myself; I suffer, but I am more than repaid by witnessing the alleviation of abject misery amongst my poor Dyaks—and even in death my chief regret now would be that they would lose the only friend who can assist them. The mention and the thought of self is mean, with such noble objects in view; but nature is so strong within us that we cannot help mixing ourselves up with any task in hand, and our motives when purest are sure to be mixed with base alloy. While Charles writes to me about kingdoms and fortune, and an immortal name, I am surrounded by difficulties, and all, and more than all, my energy and fortune are requisite to support me. I have a large income, not less than £6,000 a year, independent of my private means; but this is small when it is opposed to the claims and calls upon it, and all is laid out to advance the good of the country. I have never weighed my own personal interest in the scale, and I am deeply impressed with the conviction that the first projector of an enterprise is generally its victim, and that those who follow reap the benefit; but this conviction is far from discouraging me from proceeding. Life and fortune I have thrown upon the cast. I work like a galley slave, I fight like a common soldier; the poorest man in England might grumble at my diet; luxuries I have none, necessaries are often deficient. I am separated from civilized life and educated men; months pass without my being able to communicate with home and friends. Every trouble and danger is mine, and the prospect of compensation—bare compensation—distant and uncertain. Could money tempt any man to this? Yet, as I told you before, I am far from discouraged, and I confidently leave my fate, and the fate of this unhappy people, in God's hands."

The third letter was to his old friend Mr. Cruickshank, who, having been used rather shabbily of late in the way of letters, was now treated to a very long one indeed. The most interesting parts are given.

"My party consists of Muda Hassim and the rebels whom I have reconciled, about eight hundred men, besides the Dyaks who are all with us. I have four war prahus, and am preparing more in order to attack the pirates, and, if need be, to act on the offensive against the chiefs who are impudent. I have introduced a court of justice, and a brief but comprehensive code of laws, adhering in all things to the laws and customs of the natives, only banishing the abuses which have crept in, and reducing the rest to writing; for it is the great fault of Europeans that they introduce new laws and new customs entirely at variance with native feeling, and oftentimes with the state of society in existence. All this, dear doctor, with four Europeans besides myself, and you will give me credit for fighting against the long odds.

"From this public subject I turn to more private though not more personal details. I am housed here in what *I* call a Palace—not indeed a very substantial one, but, nevertheless, it is *par excellence the* Palace—raised upon posts, and boasting of plank floor and walls. I have likewise two country seats, one called Santah Lodge, and the other Diamond Cottage. These in future are to be coffee, nutmeg, betel, and cocoa-nut plantations, but as yet in their infancy. Now, doctor, prick up your ears—the latter is significantly named, and close to it is my diamond mine. Think on that, a real diamond mine, and that, too, in a stream where they certainly are not wanting. How many I shall get is another question, as we have not had a haul; but, if luck favours, what may not turn up? and in the interim it is pleasant to fancy the treasures of the earth pouring into my lap! What was Jove with his paltry shower of gold! In sober earnest, though, I hope the mine will support the expense of the plantation, and then I may look forward to the slower but surer process of a return from the soil, and trust to the abundance of Dame Nature above ground what she may scantily dole forth from her bosom.

"Diamond Cottage is horribly infested with ghosts. I hear woeful stories when I am there from the old Chinaman employed—how they groan and throw about branches of trees,

to frighten us from our project; and to propitiate them the old gentleman each Friday offers dainties at their shrine—rice and fowls, siri leaves, eggs, etc., but the spirits not eating, he eats the good things himself for his evening meal! The cottage is placed in a most picturesque spot—a clear river wending its way amid luxuriant foliage, and here and there obstructed by rocks sufficiently to cause its waters to murmur.

"Besides these grand projects, we have the minor considerations of life to interest us: a farm-yard pretty well stocked with goats, fowls, and ducks, all of which I look forward to as sources of abundance as they increase and multiply. Pets, too, there are—monkeys, birds, and bears—and deer, dogs, cats, pigeons, which litter together with the goats and fowls, are on the most friendly terms, and quite at home in the interior of the Palace. Indeed, the interior of the Palace is a place of public resort for man and beast, wild Dyaks and tame animals, except my private apartments, wherein I have a good library and my instruments, my writing table, and all the means of solitude and literary employment. Nor do I quite neglect the latter. I write journals and read big volumes, sometimes commenting upon them. Here, too, I converse with my friends as I now am doing.

"The coming season is big with events for me, and you shall hear again whether for good or evil. If things turn out well, I shall grow rich—if badly, poor; but at all events, I have, I trust, done enough to merit an honest fame events cannot deprive me of; and, in playing a great stake, I endeavour to lay aside as much as I am able the petty considerations of personal advantage, and look to the advancement and benefit of the unhappy people whom I may say God has in a manner placed me in charge of. To be the benefactor of a race of oppressed beings, to call into existence the resources of a vast island, to open a field for Christianity and new channels for commerce, are objects worth living for, worth dying for. Need I ask pardon for being so profuse on a subject so entirely personal? I think not; and you must

remember I have nothing else to write about, no external news, no gossip, no scandal, to retail. It is midnight, my taper burns dim, it is the hour for horrid tales; listen, therefore, to my employment to-day.

"Two poor Dyaks came for the first time to claim my protection for their tribe, which is the most distant in my country. Four years ago they were a flourishing community consisting of seven hundred families, and now they reckon not one hundred, the rest having been murdered and carried into slavery. Home, they told me, they had none; a neighbouring chief hunts them like wild beasts, for the sake of making slaves of their women and children, and he employs piratical Dyaks who cut off the men's heads. They live in the jungle, concealing themselves by day, and fear even to stir to cut their rice harvest, which is ripe and rotting in the ground. I have given them my protection, and in another year I have no doubt I shall see them a thriving and happy people."

The ill-mannered chief mentioned in this letter was probably Sheriff Sahib of Sadong, and the oppressed tribe that of Suntah. The Journal says—

"*June 20th.*—Suntah has been for a long time under the government of Sheriff Sahib of Sadong, and through his paternal charge has dwindled away from four hundred families to fifty or sixty. Shortly after my assuming the reins of government, he despatched, according to custom, a mixed party of Malays and Dyaks, and falling on my helpless tribe of Sampro, killed some, and carried away twenty women and children. I was not strong enough to resent the injury, but wrote him a strong letter, demanding the women, and telling him he was not to send under any pretext into my country. The women I did not get, but I heard that the communication frightened him; for of course they deem I am backed up by all the power of my country. Whilst the *Royalist* still lay here, I heard that his people were raising the revenue from the Suntah Dyaks; but it must be remarked, that the Suntah are on the edge of my territory, having left the former location.

"As this was done in the face of my caution not to intermeddle without my consent, I resolved at once to put the matter to an issue; and, having armed four boats, went up and seized all the rice and paddi collected for my neighbour's use. The Suntah Dyaks were and are alarmed to a pitiable degree, for they fear Sheriff Sahib with good reason, and yet my being on the spot gave them no option of evading my command. Thus the matter was brought to a crisis, and having taken the revenue, as it was called, for the poor Dyaks themselves, I shall be able to keep them from starvation, to the verge of which they are already reduced. They remain unsettled, but I am now in hopes of bringing them to the interior of the Quop, which is further within our own territory. Muda Hassim wrote to Sheriff Sahib to tell him the Dyaks were no longer his, but mine; and Sheriff Sahib, sore-hearted, conspired against us, and held for some time a higher tone than his wont."

Towards the end of April the Chinese Kunsi Sinbok were introduced to their new quarters. Brooke found it a very picturesque spot, and a sense of the strangeness of the scene, the mingling of races, and of his own part in the drama, came over him. Meanwhile, the diamond works at Suntah were running away with money instead of bringing it in, and the hadji's honesty was dubious. Returning to Kuching, he found that the sleeping partner, Muda Hassim, having heard of pirates near, had sent out an ill-arranged expedition against them, in which two Europeans had joined, and the whole had started in foolish haste. Further, that a Chinese boat had been attacked at the mouth of the river by a celebrated Sadong pirate chief. Some of the Chinese were very badly hurt; and there being no surgeon, Brooke himself dressed their wounds. "It gave me great pain," he simply writes, "dressing the hurts of these poor Chinese, one of whom I think must die. . . . They seem very grateful for any attention shown them."

An attacking squadron of war-prahus was at once prepared; and before they started, to Brooke's great relief, the

party despatched by Muda Hassim returned, when the two Englishmen reported that they had come suddenly on thirteen pirate boats, at which terrible sight the men with them in the largest Saráwak boat had become desperately frightened. "All rose, none would pull; all shouted, none would serve the guns; all commanded, none obeyed; most were screaming out to run; all bellowed in hopes of frightening the enemy, none would direct the helm."

The pangeran in command of another boat, feeling entirely overwhelmed by the responsibility of his position, transferred himself bodily into the boat containing the Tumangong, whom he earnestly exhorted to fly; but the Tumangong had more pluck, and backed up by some Javanese who behaved well, and by the Europeans who threatened the cowards with dire vengeance if they refused to attack, he succeeded in preventing a retreat, and the two boats opened fire, when luckily the enemy retreated, pulling off very steadily and silently.

As soon as possible Brooke started with one hundred and twenty men in four boats, and made first for Talang-Talang, the turtle-egg island, which was a general *rendezvous* for pirates. The people themselves were peaceful, but each year their houses were pulled down, and their cocoa-nuts and plantains destroyed by inroads of young sea warriors, anxious to try the temper of their swords. Here tidings were received of the whereabouts of the pirate leader, and following on his track, Brooke succeeded in capturing him and several of his followers, one life only being lost, that of another almost equally noted pirate. The prisoners were carried to Kuching, where Muda Hassim would gladly have put them all to death; but Brooke gave them fair trial, and would only consent to the execution of the principal chief and of his brother-in-law, who was proved equally guilty, and whose relations acknowledged that the punishment was just. One man yielded his life without a word; the other repeated continually, "What, am I to be put to death for only killing a few Chinamen!"

This being over, and Suntah matters put in train, the

tribe of Singhi required attention. This was a Dyak tribe that dwelt on Singé mountain—a rugged and well-nigh inaccessible place. They numbered eight hundred fighting men, and were nominally controlled by an old chief named Pa Remban, but practically the majority followed a younger man known as Steer Raja, Pa Remban having made himself obnoxious by a long course of tyranny. He was a very refractory subject; and, unmindful of the new order, was now amusing himself by decapitating his neighbours, from whom he had gained three heads, though not without losing two of his own people in the fray. So grave an offence brought Raja Brooke himself to the spot to investigate matters. It must be confessed that Steer Raja had provoked and challenged Paremban to the act, though refraining himself; but with the older man it was the habit of a long life, and came also as a crowning stroke to other misconduct, while of Steer Raja there was good hope for the future. The following is the account of the investigation—

"On our ascending the mountain, we found the heads guarded by about thirty young men in their finest dresses—scarlet jackets ornamented with shells, turbans dyed bright yellow, and decked with an occasional feather, flower, or twig of leaves. On reaching the public hall of Steer Raja, I immediately called a number of the chiefs together, and opened a conference with them on the subject of Paremban having attacked and killed the Dyaks of Sigo. They all disapproved of it highly, asserting that the Sigos were their younger brothers—that no sufficient cause had ever existed—that Paremban had acted badly, and must pay (to the Sigos) to purchase peace. Were they, I asked, willing to force Paremban into payment? They were. Would they insist on the heads being restored to the Sigos, and receive those of their own people? They would. Paremban, having been called before me, declared that the heads belonged to the Simpoke, and that he had not attacked the Sigos; and as I was not quite certain of the fact, I thought it unjust to proceed against him till I had stronger proof."

The Simpoke were not Saráwak subjects, and the Raja's prohibition against head-taking did not affect the relations between his people and the outside world. His tribes were to be at peace with one another: but at once to aim at more, would, he felt, imperil his power to effect even so much as this. So Paremban was left unpunished, except by displacement from his office of Orang Kaya, or Chief, which he had not proved himself worthy of holding; his brother, who was the Panglima, or Head Warrior of the tribe, sharing a like fate. Then followed the formal installation of Steer Raja as Orang Kaya, and the appointment of a new Panglima.

"A shed was erected, and about nine in the evening we repaired to the scene. Loud music, barbarous but not unpleasing, resounded, and we took our seats on mats in the midst of our Dyak friends. A feast was in preparation, and each brought his share of rice in bamboos, and laid it in the general stock. As one party came after another carrying their burning logs (fire-sticks), the effect was very good; and they kept arriving until the place and its vicinity were literally crammed with human beings. A large antique sīrih box was placed in the midst; and I contributed that greatest of luxuries—tobacco. Meantime, some of the principal people were employed in counting the number who were to eat, and dividing the bamboos into exactly equal portions. About six inches were allotted to every man; and it took a very long time to divide it, for they are remarkably particular. This done, the Orang Kaya produced as his share a large basin full of sauce, composed of salt and chilis, and a small stock of sweetmeats, and then his installation began. A jacket, turban, cloth, and a kris, all of white, were presented to him as a token of *cold*, i.e. *good*. The chief then rose, and taking a white fowl, and waving it over the eatables, repeated nearly the following words: 'May the government be cold!* (good). May there be rice in our houses! May many pigs be

* With the Dyaks all council is divided into hot and cold: peace, friendship, good intentions, are all included under the latter head; war, etc., under the former. Hot is represented by red, and cold by white.—*Journal.*

killed! May male children be born to us! May fruit ripen! May we be happy, and our goods abundant! We declare ourselves to be true to the Great Man and the Datus; what they wish we will do, what they command is our law!' The fowl was then taken by a leading Malay, who repeated the latter words, whilst others bound strips of white cloth round the heads of the multitude. The bird was next killed, the blood shed in a bamboo, and each man dipped in his finger, touching his forehead and breast in attestation of his fidelity. The fowl was now carried away to be cooked, and when brought back the dancing began. The chief, coming forward, uttered a loud yell, which was often repeated during the dance. He raised his hands to his forehead, and taking up a dish, danced with it to lively music. Three other old chief men followed his example, each uttering the yell and making the salutation to me, but without taking the dish. The dance over, the feast began, and everything was carried on with great gravity and propriety. I left them shortly after they began to eat, and retired very fagged to my bed, or rather board; for sitting cross-legged for several hours is surely a great infliction."

It was proved afterwards that the Sigos, and not the Simpoke, had been the sufferers from Paremban. Three months later, the old man and his brother, with such followers as they could muster, broke into open rebellion, refused to see the Datus sent to remonstrate with them, and defiantly asserted their right to murder when and where they chose. Steer Raja and the loyal portion of the tribe being unable to bring them to order, Brooke with a sudden spring possessed himself of the mountain, and held it till the two culprits gave themselves up in despair. They came clothed in white as a token of submission, but their words were anything but submissive; and the country round trembled at the prospect of their retaliation if ever free again. This was not to be; for at their trial in open court at Kuching, they were sentenced to death. After this, Singé flourished in peace and prosperity.

To return: hardly was the installation of the new chief

over, when, seeking out the White Raja in that wild mountain, there came the deputies of three Dyak tribes not in Saráwak territory and owning no allegiance to any Malay government. They desired protection and outlets for their trade, they said, and had ventured farther from home than they had ever dared to go before, because they had all heard—*the whole world had heard!*—that a *Son of Europe* was a friend to the Dyaks!

"My visitors," wrote Brooke, "drank Batavia arrack with great gusto, declaring all the time it was not half so good as their own; however, at a pinch anything would do!"

Matters being all adjusted, the Raja returned to Kuching, there to be greeted by rumours of invasion. Sheriff Sahib was in a worse temper; and a powerful Sarebus chief had hung a basket on a high tree to receive the white man's head after Saráwak had been conquered. To Sheriff Sahib were sent despatches from both Rajas, warning him against any aggression; whilst at the same time the district he specially threatened was fortified in native fashion, and the little fleet kept ready for immediate service. On the whole, Saráwak was comparatively flourishing. Robberies, formerly of nightly occurrence, were now rare, though petty thefts still abounded. The Dyaks were settling down in peace, and forced labour was almost abolished. "The Pangeran Makota is intriguing," we read; "but as he is sure to do that, it need not be insisted on."

CHAPTER XII.

1842.

MEANWHILE, a letter from Raja Brooke to the Governor of Singapore, urging that steps should be taken to bring the Sultan of Bruné to his senses, had been forwarded by Mr. Bonham to Calcutta. It was therefore probable that some notice would be taken of it, and not unlikely that Brooke might be offered the post of envoy. He was willing to undertake this, if the Government approved of the line of action he proposed. As, however, after waiting ample time, no decision appeared to have been arrived at by the Indian Government, he made up his mind to go on his own account without further delay. He had received information of two more ships' crews, British subjects, detained at Bruné; these must be released; and at the same time he hoped to get the agreement between himself and Muda Hassim ratified by the Sultan, and if possible to reconcile the uncle and nephew, then on bad terms with each other.

In July (1842), therefore, he sailed in the old *Royalist*, no longer the dandified creature of Cowes yachting days, but infinitely more useful. Budrudeen went with him, and another brother of Muda Hassim, named Marsali. There was quite a touching parting when they left. Human life was about the most uncertain thing on earth in those regions of treachery and murder; and Muda Hassim was lovable though feeble, whilst Budrudeen was worthy of the honour and admiration of his elder brother. Each shed tears

as the farewells were said; and Brooke thinks it necessary to excuse himself for feeling very soft-hearted too, for it was a most unexpected display of emotion in the usually reserved and dignified Malay princes. He took Muda Hassim by the hand, and cheered him with brave words, till the little man could not help looking up with a smile to that kindly face, and allowing himself to be comforted. Then gongs struck up, guns fired, flags waved, and the *Royalist* spread her wings for the north. Before following her, I give part of a letter from Brooke to his mother, written about this time. After a sketch of the improving state of the country, he says—

"I have now a sacred obligation to perform to the people of this river (Saráwak), for I am in the strictest sense their only protector. If I be removed, their sufferings will be worse than ever; and if I wilfully leave the post, I shall have much to answer for to God and my conscience. You know I am not very boastful, but I will say that I conceive what I have already done with my means is almost wonderful; the people are obedient, and all allow themselves happy. The Dyaks are coming down to the river, and building themselves residences, which for many years they have not had: and they show a degree of confidence which is surprising, and which is only limited by the apprehension that my abode here will be temporary. The Chinese are working, and I hope will succeed in making themselves comfortable in another year; and when once they are established, the country cannot be otherwise than prosperous, for, with many vices, they are an industrious and thrifty race. I do not, however, look to their success as the best criterion of mine; for if I sought only to enrich myself, the readiest way to do it would be by encouraging them and giving them power over the Malays and Dyaks; and by winking at their oppressions, I might, like the Sultan of Sambas, share largely in their profits. It shall never be said of me that I have entered on this enterprise for the sake of gain; and whatever the pecuniary temptation may hereafter be, and whatever the superior ease of pursuing a bad instead of a good course, I believe I am strong enough to hold the latter and

reject the former. I am not by nature greedy of money; my own mere personal expenses have ever been moderate, and as I grow older I am less ambitious than I was; but those far away, living in ease and safety, cannot imagine the ties which bind me to these people—the strong desire I have to confer a lasting benefit on them by the introduction of *some* government approaching to good, the deep feeling of commiseration for the Dyaks, and my indignation at the atrocities to which their ruin and the rapid decline of the race towards extinction may be attributed. At a distance, you, my mother, cannot form a full idea of these feelings—of the stern resolution they inspire to prosecute my designs, to urge my relatives to appeal to every person of humanity to aid the cause, to lay aside all selfish and mean considerations, to exhaust all my means; and, if all fail, and I receive no help from without, to fight out the battle, and to *die*, as I have latterly lived, for the good of this people. When I look at what I have already done, and see how little is needful to render it permanent—some assistance *perhaps* in a pecuniary way; an occasional demonstration by a steamer or man-of-war; an effort on the part of Government to suppress piracy—I cannot believe I shall be pushed to the last extremity, or that it will be required of me to ruin myself quite in this undertaking; but if the Government or individuals do not come forward, it will require all my energies, and all the assistance of my relations. The former I can trust to as yet, on the latter likewise I have great reliance; but I cannot expect they will take the same views as I do, or that they should lay aside permanent claims. But this I am certain of—that right and noble objects, consistently and warmly advocated will be attended to: and many who would coldly listen from afar, will be roused to exertion whenever these objects are fairly laid before them, and pressed upon their attention. I am well aware of the coldness of heart which civilized life begets, and the reluctance and deadness most persons have to assist or advocate any cause the success of which is problematical; but energy rouses energy, warmth creates warmth, and one single individual animated

by enthusiasm is sure to wake it in hundreds or thousands. It is on this account I want to rouse you all, to animate you to exertion, to induce you to lay aside all despondency; for you must remember that this despondency applies to me personally, and that my life or the life of any other individual is the smallest possible consideration in an undertaking which embraces the happiness and lives of thousands, which may confer an ultimate benefit on my own country as well as on this people, may open the commerce of this vast and most important island, and carry the blessings of civilization and religion into regions now unknown.

"Can it be that an appeal will be made in vain to the British Government and public, in favour of one of the most interesting races—who are disappearing from the earth—whose sufferings are greater than those of the negroes, and whose virtues and moral qualities can readily be ripened to civilization, and whose industry and meekness will insure the advantage of their benefactors? Can it be that a system of piracy, slavery, and murder can be permitted so close to a European settlement, when it is made known? I know not; but, as I have said before, my life is a slight consideration, and if to gain my object my life were required, I would give it as freely as I risk it now. I hope everything; I fear nothing; and I am supported by a consciousness of right, which has rarely flagged under the greatest pressure, and has never deserted me. My friends, though not many, are true and trusty. Templer you may confide in, and he will act and push. . . .

"So much for business; now for pleasure. You ask me for a perfect confidence, and I have given it you with all its asperities; and you, dearest mother, will pay the penalty when I confide to your tenderness the harsh and stern realities of my present situation; but life in all its phases presents nothing but stern realities, it is only our imagination that gilds the leaden clouds of every-day life. I remember well the days when we used to wander up and down the garden, and our sunny walks in Water Lane, with all the beautiful veronicas budding to the warmth, and rivalling the

sky in colour—when I used to tell you all I thought, and all I wished; and indeed, most part of my life, loved mother, I have had scarce a concealment from you; but I was then young, and full of hope and despondency by turns, and I was not acting, but only wishing to find a sphere of action. Since then, my character and feelings have greatly altered, and I am acting instead of dreaming and hoping; but now you are my confidante, as you were then, in almost everything that a mother can hear. I have found a sphere of action which is worthy of pursuit, and when I see around me many grateful beings, many who owe to my exertions their lives and all they have, I feel that I have not lived in vain, and that one year of such existence is worth a century of such a life as I have been compelled by fate to lead. I feel tenderly and kindly towards all the world, and I thank God for the many advantages I enjoy.

"Though you may know that I have a great deal to do, yet I continue most of my lazy habits, and I generally compress a good deal of work into a short compass. I read daily and nightly several hours, and my studies are very theological. I have now gone so far as to write a treatise against Article 90 of the 'Oxford Tracts,' which is a Jesuitical performance.

"I have absolutely read every work in my library, many of which, of a tough sort, I certainly should not have managed to go regularly through amid the distractions of civilized life. We are now in the month of June, our hot weather as well as yours, and I am not yet settled enough to fly to the top of a mountain. Perhaps, dearest mother, you are enjoying the country, either at Lackington or Hillingdon, at this season? I revert with pleasure to our many excursions, and always consider you as well and cheerful, taking the evening stroll in the fields, and relishing the morning bouquet. Summer presents a pleasing picture to my mind: let those enjoy winter who can; but to you and me it brings nothing but its cheerless aspect and its biting cold.

"*June 8th.*—I will briefly finish this long letter by saying that I go to-morrow to meet the Sarebus Dyaks, who are

reported to be at the mouth of our river in force. Do not let your maternal heart tremble; to fight these piratical and head-taking vagabonds is necessary in my situation, and hereafter, I and all my people, and the entire coast, will enjoy peace if these Dyaks can be taught a lesson. I apprehend no danger, and yet danger and death are ever near to man; and if it be the latter overtakes me, remember, my mother, that I have died as I have lived, with the purest feelings of affection towards you, and that I have died nobly, trying to benefit my fellow-creatures. Farewell, then, to you all, and believe me in life and death, your affectionate son—J. BROOKE."

The visit to Brunéé succeeded entirely. On casting anchor, a boat was despatched to inform the Sultan that there were letters for him from Muda Hassim.

"I gave particular directions," writes Brooke, "in case the Sultan asked about me, that my ambassadors were to say that I had been corresponding about the English coming; that I was not a man in authority, or belonging to the East India Company, and that they were sure I should not land unless he invited me to come and see him. At the unconscionable hour of 2 a.m., a mob of pangerans came on board, not fewer than fifty, and with a multitude of followers. They awoke us out of our first sleep, and crowded the vessel above and below, so that we could scarce find room to make our toilet in public, whilst the heat was suffocating us. However, we did manage it, and sat talking till daylight. Our visitors were chiefly relations or adherents of Muda Hassim's, and some of the first men in the country. Budrudeen and Marsale were in their glory, and happy; and it was evident at once that our affairs were likely to succeed. All were anxious and eager about Muda Hassim, and wishing his return. The Sultan, Pangerans Usop, Mumin, and others, declared Borneo could never be well till he came back. It was clear that the country was in distress and difficulty from within, trade ruined, piracy abounding. At daylight a boat from the Sultan arrived to carry up the letters; but Budrudeen and his brother resolved to proceed first before giving them, in order to make sure of an honour-

able reception for the despatch. At seven o'clock there was a stir, and I saw them all over the side with delight, and gave them a salute with pleasure. Breakfast done, I was too happy to lie down and sleep till past mid-day, having then only to wait for Budrudeen's return. At three o'clock he came, bringing good news of the most favourable reception from all parties—all wishing for reconciliation and the return of Muda Hassim. To-morrow boats are to come for the letters, which are to be conveyed in state. The day following I am to go up, and am likewise to be received in all honourable form."

The interview took place as arranged; the same etiquette prevailing as on Brooke's first introduction to Muda Hassim. The objects of his visit were stated, and favourably received. The Sultan would sign the agreement that made over Saráwak—he was anxious to be on friendly terms again with his uncle, and to have him back at Bruné—and he would release all his captives who were British subjects. It struck Brooke that the Sultan had not many wits, and that what he had were in somewhat of a chaos; but such as he was, he did his best to be amiable.

"He was pleased," runs the Journal, "to express great personal regard for me, and every five minutes I had to swear eternal friendship; whilst he, clasping my hand, kept repeating, '*Amigo sua, amigo sua!*'* meaning, '*My* friend, *my* friend!' He professed great readiness to give me Saráwak, inquired the amount of revenue, seemed satisfied, and said, 'I wish you to be there: I do not wish anybody else; you are my friend, and it's nobody's business but mine; the country is mine, and if I please to give you all, I can.'"

He was delighted with the presents Brooke made him, but greedy after more, and constantly inquiring what there was still in the yacht. "She is stripped bare," said Brooke at last;

* The language common at Bruné is a patois that one only conversant with pure Malay would not understand. The Sultan could, however, speak very good Maláy when he chose, and on this occasion he probably employed a smattering of Portuguese or Spanish, picked up from slaves and captured free men from Manilla—of whom there were many in Bruné—to show that he had a little knowledge of a European tongue.—*Note by Mr. A. C. Cruickshank.*

but the Sultan had his doubts on the subject. It was agreed that the revenue due from Saráwak to Bruné should that year be paid in kind, Brooke promising to send his schooner with British goods. "Let her come before our great fast begins," implored the Sultan, "or what shall I do without soft sugar and dates!"

On the 1st of August, 1842, the return letters to Muda Hassim were completed, and the contract confirming Brooke as Raja of Saráwak discussed, signed, and sealed. "An important day in my history," is the Journal entry, "and I hope one which will be marked with a white stone in the annals of Saráwak."

The liberated crews of the shipwrecked vessels, *Sultana* and *Lord Melbourne*, were safe on board. They were all, twenty-one in number, British subjects, but coloured men, and Brooke felt that the latter fact had delayed their release by the proper authorities; "though for the life of me," he exclaims, "I cannot see where the distinction lies between one subject and another!" Among them were three that had been sold to an Arab trader, from whom Brooke bought them, and so doubly set them free; and the little schooner, though most inconveniently crowded, bore a light-hearted party back to Saráwak, where they were received and welcomed with great *éclat*. No disturbance of any kind had occurred, though, as usual, all manner of rumours had been industriously propagated. It was held for certain that Brooke would never return alive; an army of Chinese were marching on Saráwak from Sambas, etc., etc. But now birds of evil omen hid their diminished heads, and at the appointed time, the evening of the 18th of August, the Sultan's letters were produced in all possible state. This is the account:—

"On their arrival, they were received and brought up amid large wax torches. The person who was to read them was stationed on a raised platform; standing below him was the Raja, Muda Hassim, with a sabre in his hand; in front was his brother Jaffer, with a tremendous *kampilan* * drawn;

* A straight-bladed Illanun sword.

and around were the other brothers and myself, all standing, the rest of the company being seated. The letters were then read, the last one appointing me to hold the government of Saráwak. After which the Raja descended, and said aloud, 'If any one present disowns or contests the Sultan's appointment, let him now declare!' All were now silent. 'Is there any pangeran or any young Raja that contests the question? Pangeran Der Makota, what do you say?' Makota expressed his willingness to obey. One or two other obnoxious pangerans, who had always opposed themselves to me, were each in turn challenged, and forced to promise obedience. The Raja then waved his sword, and with a loud voice exclaimed, 'Whoever he is that disobeys the Sultan's mandate now received, I will separate his skull!' And at the moment some ten of his brothers jumped from the verandah, and, drawing their long krisses, began to flourish and dance about, thrusting close to Makota, striking the pillar above his head, and pointing their weapons at his breast. A motion on his part would have been fatal; but he kept his eyes on the ground, and stirred not. I, too, remained quiet, and cared nothing about this demonstration, for one gets accustomed to these things. It all passed off, and in ten minutes the men who had been leaping frantically about with drawn weapons and inflamed countenances were seated, quiet and demure as usual. This scene is a custom with them, the only exception being that it was pointed so directly at Makota."

Two days after the coronation, if such it may be called, we find Brooke writing to Mr. Templer of the miserable condition in which he had found Bruné:—

"To say it is in the last stage of decay, gives but a faint picture of the condition. There is no government. The chiefs are poor and rapacious, the people oppressed; the territory is occupied by any adventurers who are strong enough. The pirates ravage the coast and threaten the capital; and in one year, the Borneons assured me, six hundred men had been carried away into slavery from the mouth of their river and from prahus sailing in the vicinity.

In short, it is in that state that it must fall into the hands of a European power. . . . Is it doomed that we are to be so obstinate and dilatory as to allow so fine a country to slip away from us?—a country superior to Java in its produce. It produces everything, and to the list I before sent you, may now be added saltpetre. Coal alone, so rare a feature in these climates, may be a formidable acquisition in the hands of a rival trading power, a most advantageous one in our own. Borneo is centrical between Singapore, China, and Manilla, and a steam line must extend to India on one side and Australia on the other.

"If my views were magnified—if I talked of millions or hundreds of thousands, or regiments of soldiers, or fleets of ships—then they might look and hesitate before they leaped, they might doubt the advantages which should repay so large an outlay; but the objects I propose are greater than may be supposed—they are dictated by humanity. The outlay is nothing, and that outlay would be added to the account of commerce. Can the Government hesitate? Will they not even inquire? We shall see. I propose soon to send you a paper on the Dyaks—their customs, manners, habits, etc.; and another on the geography of the coast between Tanjong Datu and Borneo Proper. I have been obliged to clip some hundreds of miles of habitable land off the charts, and though my chart will not aim at minute correctness, it will be sufficient for all the purposes of navigation. The number of vessels which are lost amid the reefs of the Palawan passage is lamentable.

"Of our folks at home I read the most pleasing accounts. My mother writes in excellent spirits, and encourages me to proceed. Charles Johnson, always sanguine, seems to expect that a gold mine will explode at my feet! All the children are getting beyond my knowledge. Little Charley, the middy of the *Wolverine*, has, I apprehend, gone on to China. What would I not give to see the boy! Of personal news I have very little to tell you. I am well: I am content: I am employed. I have lately made a garden which I take pleasure

in, and intend to have a plantain grove; the large, fresh green leaf is always pleasant to the eye and to the mind; it is connected in my mind with many associations and scenes and company. Besides my garden, I have a flock of goats, which I cherish and intend to increase. My diamond mine as yet is a failure, not from want of diamonds, but from the dam washing down; and, in truth, the manager is a bad one!

"How, dear Jack, do you thrive? You must be an old man by this time! So long married, that I presume you have given up all the follies of your youth—dancing, and fiddling, and quoiting, and leaping, and running. I who have no wife have a full right to continue young as long as I please or can. Offer my kind regards to your lady, whose acquaintance I hope to make some day or other; to Prior * and your sister, and to all the Bridport party. I hope all are as well and as happy as I wish them. You know I prophesied Prior would be Lord Chancellor, and you may be sure he will be *that* or something else great: which same remark is so much in the style of my favourite Mrs. Bennett, in 'Pride and Prejudice,' that I cannot help asking you whether you ever read Miss Austin's novels; if not, get them all and set to work. For my part, I have read them a dozen times since I have been out, and as books get scarce, am likely to read them a dozen times more. They are unique and inimitable."

With the warmth of a generous heart Mr. J. C. Templer set himself to win sympathy and help in England, and through years of a life fully occupied as barrister, and subsequently as a Master in the Court of Exchequer, his leisure hours were employed in labour for his friend and for that friend's great work.

"How can I enough thank you," wrote Brooke (October 12, 1842), "for all you have done and are doing? I remember, in one of Miss Edgeworth's novels, a character of my own name, whose motto was, 'Deeds, not words,' and I must take the motto on the present occasion. You cannot require any thanks from me, for we know each other and each

* Mr. Prior had married a sister of Mr. Templer.

other's feelings too well, but what I fear is that the many claims on your time which I exact—no, not exact—will not be good in a professional point of view. If it be so, do not neglect yourself for me. All your accounts are stirring and favourable, and I really begin to think, what I scarce hoped before, that the Government will recognise me sooner or later. This once obtained, more will follow, according to our progress and deserts. You congratulate me on standing in the position I deserve. I answer that my task is only beginning, and that much work is still before me; but it is work which it is gratifying to fag at, and as wave succeeds wave, it is proud to ride triumphant over each in succession.

"To —— you must remember me, and thank him for his kind note; for decided approbation in the infancy of an undertaking is worth a cloud of subsequent incense. You may apply this remark to others who reside not a hundred miles from Greenwich, and go daily per steamer to the Temple.

"The Sarebus Dyaks, after one licking when we caught them red-handed, have taken such alarm that they have not for the last four months been to sea, and the trading natives are now passing from river to river along the coast without apprehension or danger. Not one town or village has been attacked this season, whereas every other year they were constantly slaughtered wholesale. As yet I have no communication with these Dyaks, but I understand they desire it. It only proves that by a high tone, and at the same time active cruising, and a little thrashing, how much may be done. Six large Sulu prahus came on the coast, but did not stay long enough to enable me to attack them. They all know that English are here, and the fame of our prowess and power far exceeds the reality. I have constantly a steamer and man-of-war at command *in nubibus*, and these ideal vessels answer the purpose for the present.

"My great measure has been forbidding the war of one tribe with another within my territory, and now they have agreed to it. I could not strain it further at first, for fear of too great an inroad on their prejudices, but this step is a very

great one. I breathe peace and comfort to all who obey, and wrath and fury to the evil-doer."

Among other plans for the advancement of the country was the formation of a company of merchants, who, in return for the security to life and property afforded by the Raja's government, would guarantee the expenses of his administration, while their capital developed trade.

"I dislike trade," he wrote to his mother, October 16, 1842, "because I am so ignorant of it; but you may rest assured I shall not foolishly throw away any chance to benefit myself which is consistent with the benefit of the country. You must, at the same time, bear in mind that had I acted on the *principle of a trader*, I should not have held my present position, and in grasping at my own advantage I should very likely lose the moral influence I possess over the people. If fortune is an effect resulting from security and good government, I will not, be certain, throw it away; but I have always endeavoured to take an enlarged view of the subject—to hope that thousands will be benefited when I am mouldering in dust; and that my name will be remembered, whenever it is thought of, as one whose actions showed him above the base and sordid motives which so often disgrace men in similar circumstances. No personal consideration has deterred me from proceeding: and if I can govern with a moderate fortune, clear of trade, my influence would be very great; but expenses must be paid, and what is worse, I must hold the monopoly, which is wrong on principle; and anybody who succeeds me ought to insure me a *maintenance*, and, I think, repay me my expenses. To yield the government would be madness, for my influence is as yet personal; and my mantle could not suddenly be transferred, especially as it is incumbent that a successor should be versed in the native language, and acquainted with native manners. I hate the idea of a Utopian government, with laws cut and dried ready for the natives, being introduced. Governments, like clothes, will not fit everybody; and certainly a people, who gradually develop their government, though not a good one,

are nearer happiness and stability than a government of the best which is fitted at random. I am going on slowly and surely, basing everything on their own laws, consulting all their head men at every step, reducing their laws to writing, and instilling what I think right, merely in the course of conversation — separating the abuses from the customs. Their minds thus prepared, I shall take a forward step— arrange and print.

"Nor are the natives by any means deficient. They show considerable acuteness of apprehension, without a shade of bigotry. They attack and they defend, and will point out the particular bearings of a law in a manner which would astonish Jack Templer himself.

"I wish I could show you my Journal about Borneo, for I am sure it would amuse. This same Journal has now run to some fifteen MS. books, written in my scrawling manner, and I dare say one small volume of new matter might be selected from the contents. At present I shall content myself with picking out one paper on the Dyaks, and another on geography, both of which the dear public will praise or abuse at their pleasure.

"What does —— mean by my not stating whether a Christian mission could come here? Do I not talk about it? Do I not urge the benefits of Christianity, the fields for missionary labour? Do I not put him in possession of the facts, the condition of the country and its inhabitants? And, after all this, ought he not to be the best judge?

"The truth is, there are two sorts of Christian missions— the one of unmixed good, the other somewhat dangerous. Some missionaries begin at the wrong end—by preaching Christianity and running down Mahommedanism or any other received belief. These show gross ignorance of human nature, and neglect the principles of toleration; for if we abuse another's belief, we confirm him in it, and make him a bigot, and he will rather retort abuse than hear reason. Such a mission will never succeed in any Malay country, and probably not amongst the Dyaks. The other sort of mission-

aries are the American, who live quietly, practice medicine, relieve the distressed, do not dispute or argue, and aim to educate the children. With the Dyaks it requires a person to foster and protect them, to teach them the arts of life, to inspire confidence, become acquainted with their manners and prejudices, and, above all, to educate their children. The former I have described would embroil a government wherein the native takes a share, and a large one; the latter would be its best and most rational support—not only as a check upon the natives, but upon the Europeans. If —— wants a red-hot missionary crusade, to begin by telling the natives that their religion is a lie and their prophet an impostor—for though this be true, it should not be told—I want none such. If he wants a mission of reasonable and educated men, who know when to speak and when to be silent, who hold civilization and education as a means of religion, who will strive to enlarge the native mind, and to give them the outlines of our religion, its accordance with theirs in its earliest stages, to instruct the children, to benefit the adult, then the sooner they come the better."

Here are parts of two letters, both to Mr. Templer, and the last that were written in 1842—

"*November 29th.*—Do not apply to Lord —— again, for one refusal, though a polite one, is enough; and do not push either the —— or Lord ——, for all men dislike being bothered, and there may be difficulties we cannot see in acceding to any part of my request, which time may remove. After all this, I must leave you to act as you please, and I know you will act better than I should do myself; for, as you well know, I am a *civilized savage,* and that I have a little foolish pride, which makes me a wretched hand at asking favours. It is satisfactory that what has been done, has been done without aid, and by means strangely disproportioned to the end.

"A few days ago I was up a high mountain, and looked over the country; and sitting there most lazily, smoking a cigar, I called into existence the coffee plantations, the nutmeg

plantations, the sugar plantations, and pretty white villages and tiny steeples: and I dreamed that I heard the buzz of life, and the clang of industry amid the jungles, and that the *China Colins* 'whistled as they went, for want of thought,' as they homeward bent. All this I dreamed; and it might be realized easily enough, but, as I have no magical means of convincing others, I must leave things to take their course.

"You are quite a legal enthusiast, and in this feeling I can in no way participate, for I have so little law that you might hang me before I knew that I had done wrong. I laughed at the idea of your converting me into a three-tailed bashan, when in fact you are a greater grandee than myself. You have a good house, neat furniture, and tidy servants, and would go into fits had you to bring Mrs. Templer to the menagerie I live in.

"Write me very very often, and all about family affairs—Law *versus* Justice—all details which may appear insignificant to send all the way to Borneo—but which I like. Such details are the best part of correspondence, for I hate being upon stilts, and making fine sentences, and saying fine things.

"*December 4th.*—I am too much interrupted to do much in the way of writing, and it is irritating to write at all, for some poor wretch comes every five minutes for a 'bechara,' or talk. Helped or not, I shall get on.

"These are times wherein ambition has no fair chance, *i.e.*, private ambition. Governments, rightly enough, will not allow individuals to act, or to muster bodies for the upsetting of native states, or for the benefit of the people; but they are bound in consequence to interfere more themselves, and not to be quite dead to the claims of one unhappy race, because they are attentive, to a vast extent, to the claims of another. The worst of all these matters is, that the public mind requires preparing, and a certain dose of cant must be administered by white-cravated, black-coated Exeter Hallites, and the ladies cry the first time, give sixpence the next, and the third meeting produces a blaze of enthusiasm, and half-guineas!

"The details of business, like the details of life, are not hero-like; and in civilized life it requires art, watchfulness, flattering eloquence, and a shower of penny pamphlets, to to work up the public mind to any given point. It is considerations like these that make me think I never shall succeed; for though I devote time and risk of life, I could not fawn or guzzle even to protect the Dyaks; it is not in my nature."

The ill-feeling between Bruné and Saráwak having, through Brooke's good offices, passed away, Muda Hassim began to think of returning to his old quarters, and Brooke did not regret the decision. Both countries would gain, for the sense of law and order that was springing up in Saráwak had impressed Muda Hassim, and still more strongly his brother Budrudeen; the two working together might begin to teach in Bruné the new lessons they had learnt; and although on the whole Brooke had got on well with Muda Hassim and excellently with Budrudeen, the former had a way of "leeching the exchequer," while the followers of the court were unsatisfactory, a constant source of difficulty to Brooke, and of dread to the natives.

It was amicably arranged, therefore, that Muda Hassim and Budrudeen should return to their old home. The departure, however, did not take place for some little time, and Makota meanwhile had his mind on the subject made up for him by an intimation that for the good of the country, if not for his own, he had better leave Saráwak as soon as he could arrange his affairs. Whereupon that worthy made great show of getting his boats ready, but the amount of repairing they required was marvellous.

CHAPTER XIII.

1843.

THE year 1843 opened quietly, with no special trouble in the country, and Brooke's chief care arose from the dangerous illness of one of his men. The *Royalist*, with all the other Europeans, being away at the time, the sole charge fell on him, and he found it an anxious one. Mr. Westermann, the Danish doctor, appears to have left. Just as the sick man began to recover, the yacht arrived, bringing Mr. John Treacher, a surgeon who had accompanied Brooke through his Celebes expedition, after which he had been obliged to return to England. Now, free again, he found his way back to Saráwak, and threw in his fortune with her Raja. Brooke welcomed him cordially, but the arrival revived a question that had already perplexed him, viz., the best practicable arrangement to make for those who thus joined him. The great difficulty, as usual, was money. The Malay chiefs, stopped in their plundering, looked to him for support, and that he should persistently refuse to sanction any save the very lightest taxes was almost beyond their comprehension. But he felt that a long confidence should precede taxation; and, trusting that the benefits of good government would in time induce the people to impose taxes on themselves, he was resolved to wait, although for many years it would, he thought, be vain to expect any amount of revenue beyond that required for the necessities of government. At present even this was not forthcoming, and his own capital, drawn on unceasingly, was made

to supply the deficiency. It was a policy at once wise and humane, but it could not be carried out without self-sacrifice; and again and again in Journal and letters comes a groan of anxiety. "This," he writes, "is the stone which drags my spirits down, sink—sink—low spirits and low fever—all about pounds, shillings, and pence." It was not easy to describe the country as the good field for investment that he believed it to be, without raising expectation too high; for there was no standard by which to compare the chances of success on the one hand with the risk and the need of time and patience on the other. Saráwak was an unknown land, and on him would rest the responsibility of making or marring the fortunes of those who trusted to his descriptions and advice. One thing, therefore, he was determined on—not to sanction any over-coloured statement, and not to lend his name to any doubtful speculation; a determination that brought him before long into an antagonism that became the fruitful source of much of the calumny and misrepresentation it was his lot to bear. It is sufficient to say here that the moving spring of this torture was a man named Henry Wise, at this time his trusted and confidential London agent.

To what extent the great experiment would succeed was hidden in the future. Almost every month things assumed a new aspect. Brooke could but judge from circumstances as they then were, or as he had a reasonable hope they might become. In some respects his views changed with circumstances; but on four points they appear to have remained unaltered as long as there was any hope of carrying them out. These are given in a letter to Mr. Templer, written on March 22, 1843, from Singapore, whither he had gone in the hope of raising interest among the mercantile body—

"You may rest assured I shall in no way part with a tittle of power until I see clearly the following points arranged: 1. The benefit and security of the people. 2. Provision for the Government. 3. Right-minded persons to succeed me. 4. Some provision or employment for those who have followed my fortunes.

"Other nations are most desirous to form settlements in the Archipelago, and from what has been said to me from their officials, I doubt not they would accept Saráwak; and my influence in Borneo would give them a dominant sway over that kingdom, which wisely employed would lead to fortune. My object is to secure to the natives a permanent good beyond the chances of my life. Of course in the first place I apply to the British Government, to the merchants, to the religious societies. If all are deaf or indifferent, it is then I propose applying to others more willing, and likewise able to carry my views into effect. I say not this by way of threat, or from any feeling of annoyance or mortified vanity, but as an alternative which it will be my duty to adopt, and which cannot, after they have declined, affect the interest of my countrymen."

A Journal entry dated March 31, 1843, refers also to this subject—

"The proper course for the British Government to pursue would be to obtain the monopoly of the Borneo coal, with the cession of the island of Labuan at the mouth of the Bruné river, and I feel confident that the Sultan might easily be induced to make this grant; indeed, in the present state of Borneo Proper, the Rajas would cede any amount of territory provided there was a clause in the agreement promising British protection from the pirates. It will probably be urged by the Dutch that, under the treaty of 1824, no European nation can hold land in Borneo; but it is evident from the wording of the 12th Article* that it refers solely to the islands to the south of Singapore, which lie between that settlement and Java, for if it were not so both Australia and New Zealand are within the limits specified. With respect to Saráwak

* "Article XII.—His Netherlands Majesty withdraws the objections which have been made to the occupation of the island of Singapore by the subjects of his Britannic Majesty. His Britannic Majesty, however, engages that no British establishment shall be made on the Carimon Isles, or on the islands of Battam, Bintang, Lingin, or any of the other islands south of the Straits of Singapore, nor any treaty concluded by British authority with the chiefs of those islands."

itself, I have freely offered to transfer it to the British Crown, under certain conditions to be considered hereafter. Should the British Government entertain my proposition, it will certainly be necessary to make new arrangements with the Sultan, as I now hold Saráwak under the Crown of Borneo; but I foresee no difficulty on this head when the question shall be seriously entertained; and what mighty results might not accrue from decisive measures at the present moment! When I reflect on the past history of the very spot on which I am now writing—on Singapore! What was it only a few short years ago? A morass, a desert swamp!—but the British flag was hoisted, it soon became populous, and its prosperity since has been steadily increasing. The same will in some degree be the result in any Malay country where the flag insures protection to life and property.

"The British Government may, by establishing a post in the vicinity of the Borneo river, possess themselves of the coal districts; or, by friendly relations with the Sultan, the way may be paved for taking the settlement when we please. I consider this object as one of great importance hereafter, if not immediately, and the danger is that other countries may act before we do; indeed, I cannot disguise my impression that both French and Belgians would colonise provided they had a good opening. The Borneo Rajas, though reconciled through my mediation, are only so apparently, and will never go on long without dissension and strife; and the losing party will, of course, appeal to the English first and afterwards to any European power that will reinstate them. The following is a copy of a letter I have written to Mr. Wise—

"'Your letter to Sir Robert Peel was all it ought to have been, and in case you gain an interview, I doubt not you will make a degree of impression; but it takes time to move a Government suspicious from the number of wily plans laid before it for consideration. I know my position—I greatly desire to have it recognized; but if recognition depend upon flattery, I will it not; if truth and candid dealing will not do it, I am willing that it should be left undone. I do not see

why this opening should not lead to results similar to those which have taken place in India. Regarding expense and outlay, I may say that a steamer, a fort, and a few men will be necessary.'"

The following Journal entry was written (May 1, 1843) at Singapore—

"We had information yesterday of a large pirate fleet being on the Borneo coast. Mr. Church, the resident councillor, has forwarded the intelligence to Captain Keppel, who will shortly be here, and as I know their cruising ground, it is not unlikely that H.M.S. *Dido* may come across them. A steamer has been in the roads (from Manilla) for sale, an ugly vessel for which the owners demand 80,000 dollars, or £16,000 sterling. The price is frightful; and one of half the size, built of iron, and drawing very little water, would answer my purpose better. Perhaps some day I may yet have the satisfaction of seeing such a one floating on the waters of Saráwak. The thought of a steam communication with Borneo brings many reflections. What might not be performed with this auxiliary! As time advances, I myself get more confident about ultimate success. I feel assured that, in comparison with any other native power, my position is one of security and strength; but at the same time, I clearly perceive that for the development of the country greater means are requisite than I possess or can command, and that I cannot give that confidence to settlers and capitalists which would result from recognition by Government. I can, however, make the people happy, save them from plunder, protect them from wrong, and afford security to life and property, and with this I ought in reason to be content. I have already made arrangements for one or two Chinese junks visiting Saráwak next season, and the advent of the Chinese will give an impetus to the Malay and Dyak population, for they can dispose of their products at Singapore rates. If the British Government accede to my views, the entire coast of Borneo will fall under our influence; and our influence, if properly used, will gradually open river after river to a direct trade, and each of these streams is an

artery from the interior. At present the pulsation is but feeble, but the full current of commercial freedom would soon raise it to a healthy flux and reflux. Protect the rajas, settle the succession if appealed to on the subject, give a little money in proper quarters, and mix cheerfully and kindly amongst them, and you may get from them whatever you require; for the valuable staple articles they would give are of no value to themselves.

"The field is new, and is clearly open to British enterprise; for there has never been a question about Borneo and Celebes being open to us; and why such indifference exists on so important a subject is to me inconceivable."

A welcome budget of home letters had greeted him at Singapore. From these he was delighted to learn that the Government had decided on making inquiry into the condition of Borneo, and it was added that probably Sir Edward Belcher, in command of H.M.S. *Samarang*, would be selected to do so. Brooke remarks on this to Mr. Templer—

"Now, if you please, let us speculate a little on what is likely to be. Sir Edward Belcher arrives at Saráwak, reports favourably, the Government takes the place and get a title, which there is no doubt they can. Perhaps they will make me Governor, perhaps nay; perhaps they will repay my outlay, perhaps nay. They will most certainly employ those gentleman who have faithfully followed me, or reward them; they will pay the three native chiefs whom I now pay. With this arrangement I should be quite content, for it would insure security to the people of Saráwak, and a hope of extension along the coast. Now, being content I look upon as being generous, for to attain this grand object I give up my position and power and chance of a fortune. By holding the monopoly of antimony ore I clear about £5000 or £6000 a year, and this revenue clears my current expenses. Besides this, the Chinese have got gold, and have paid me £500 in *the dust* already; and as this gold is procured the Chinese population increases, the country flourishes, and as the country improves it will be quiet, and I shall reduce rather than increase my

establishment. Permanency, however, is preferable to all these chances and considerations, and I am no huckster to drive a bargain for £ *s. d.* I know no greater advantage accruing from a retirement from the world than the absence of that attraction which 'fires ourselves and breaks others' backs.' If matters go as I have stated all will be well, and I shall have a fair chance of returning home. If otherwise—if the Government decline to interest themselves—I shall be none the worse, and shall work the field, and feel myself at liberty to take any measures I may think best for the good of the people. Certainty to me is worth five years of life, and I hope in the course of a year we shall arrive at that. If it be as I wish, I shall rest under the shadow of the British Government; otherwise, I shall have the pleasure of plucking up my energies and developing the country as I can. I wait the result without uneasiness.

"Wise has certainly acted with decision, and has attained his object of attracting the attention of Government; but I trust he has not committed me by garbling or high-colouring my statements. I have no object in daubing with a sign-painter's brush. I fear it, because he has evidently made me responsible for the coal in Borneo, which I know nothing about beyond its bare existence, and because he has so evidently misconstrued my meaning and expressions about commerce. This annoys me, because I thought I had been guarded enough to prevent any rash commercial speculation. . . . You would have been amused to read an entire sheet of questions sent from Lackington, the answers to which are requested: each member of the family asks something. 'Do you lie down in your bed at night in security?' 'Have you any good shooting?' 'Do you get venison?' 'What are the Dyak articles of faith?' 'Should I be useful as a school-mistress of the Dyak children?' 'Do you think I could 'lick' any Dyak boy of my age with my left hand?' These are very characteristic, and I was busy two hours yesterday in answering them. . . .

"Warn——not to listen to foolish stories about making

money in a hurry. Really the mania for an El Dorado is so universal that I should not be astonished if such a place were discovered—a mountain of gold with nothing wanting but pickaxes—or some other such vulgar heaven upon earth. Everything distant seems to attract the imagination: distance lends enchantment to the view—distance of time softens down the crimes and errors of the dead—and Hope herself is but reality at a distance. In short, distance is a great and undiscovered principle!"

Among the letters was one from Mr. Cruickshank, thus answered—

"*April 28th.*—Your long and kind letter gave me great pleasure, and I could not help feeling proud when I read what you wrote of me and to me. I must, however, put you right about my position and the power I have of being of any service to you. A fine and rich country, with gold, with diamonds, with antimony, requires capital to develop it, and this capital I do not possess, and moreover the expenses are heavy, and the exchequer is always in an exhausted state. Another sufficient reason against your entertaining any notion of coming out is, that at present the undertaking depends on my life, and on a thousand other contingencies; and therefore you might, giving up a certainty, rue the step even before you had reached the scene of action. All these enterprises are for the benefit of others rather than the projectors; all history shows how little advantage accrues to those who open paths for commerce, for conquest, or for civilization. I am well content to read and profit by the lesson—to lower my expectations and to trust my reward to my own feelings and conscience rather than to the hands of Government and great men. I do not covet riches, and I could be as happy, or happier, a-sauntering by some streamlet in the sunshine of summer, than bedecked and be-jewelled and befooled in the courtly saloons of the capital. Had you been unmarried and poor, and without any prospects, I would have received you with open arms, on the principle that you might be better off and could not be worse; but as it is, you must

not think, you must not even dream, of giving up a sufficient and respectable income for the search of an El Dorado. But should the Government take Saráwak, and should they be appointing officers, you may keep your eyes open, and be sure that anything I can do I will to serve you.

"I have got the best news to give—Sir Robert Peel is decidedly favourable to some arrangement for carrying out the views I have opened, and in consequence the *Samarang* frigate has had orders to visit Saráwak. How proud I shall be if I see the poor Dyaks placed under the protection of the British flag—safe to labour and open to improvement! To have saved even a remnant of this race would repay me for all I have expended, and *I think* I could find comfort and satisfaction in the thought which riches and honours could not impart. I am not, however, going to run mad on these points, though I cannot help being a little so with you who know me so well, and who will give me credit for feelings removed from selfishness."

At Penang, whither he went from Singapore, Brooke first made the acquaintance of Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel, in command of H.M.S. *Dido*, and in that vessel returned to Saráwak. For Captain Keppel determined on his own responsibility to put some check to piratical outrages. On the way to Kuching, the *Dido's* pinnace and two cutters were despatched, under the command of Mr. Wilmot Horton, the first lieutenant, with orders to rejoin at Saráwak by a different course. Hardly was the *Dido* out of sight, when the little squadron, which Brooke accompanied, fell in with two small native fleets: one fled precipitately, but the other came on, with yells and tom-toms, to attack the *Dido's* boats. In spite, however, of this defiant greeting, Brooke, who well knew the cut and rig of all the native craft, decided that these were not Illanun pirates, as was supposed, and raising a white flag on his spy-glass, he hailed, waved, and made all possible signs to warn them of the danger into which they were running; but a discharge of small-arms was the only reply: there was an evident determination to surround the pinnace. And off

the Island of Sirhassen the fight began, and a prahu mounting three brass guns and manned by thirty-six men was captured: the rest fled. It turned out that Brooke was right. They were not professional but amateur pirates. The spirit of piracy was strong all along the coast; and seeing European boats with no ship near, they had imagined a wreck, and the crew escaping with all they could save was a booty worth having. On the strength of its being a sudden temptation, and not their usual means of livelihood, they were forgiven, and the *Dido's* surgeon landed and set to work at once to bind up the wounded, amongst whom Brooke discovered an "old, wealthy, and respectable friend," who was much ashamed at being recognized. Rejoining the *Dido*, May 16th, they reached Saráwak River, where the welcome that greeted the Raja is thus described by Captain Keppel:—

"During the whole morning large boats had been coming down the river to hail Mr. Brooke's return; and one of the greatest gratifications I had was in witnessing the undisguised delight, mingled with gratitude and respect, with which each head man welcomed their newly-elected ruler back to his adopted country. Although many of the Malay chiefs had every reason to expect that in the *Dido* they saw the means by which their misdeeds were to be punished, they showed their confidence in Mr. Brooke by bringing their children with them—a sign peculiar to the Malay. The scene was both novel and exciting, presenting to us—just anchored in a large fresh-water river, and surrounded by a densely-wooded jungle—the whole surface of the water covered with canoes and boats, dressed with coloured silken flags, filled with natives beating their tom-toms and playing on wind instruments, with the occasional discharge of fire-arms. To them it must have been equally striking to witness the *Dido* anchored almost in the centre of their town, her mast-heads towering above the highest trees of their jungle, the loud report of her heavy 32-pounder guns, the running aloft, to furl sails, of one hundred and fifty seamen in their clean white dresses, and with the band playing. I was anxious that Mr. Brooke

should land with all the honours due to so important a personage, which he accordingly did under a salute."

A ceremonial visit from Captain Keppel to Muda Hassim then took place, which was "great fun, though conducted in the most imposing manner." The Raja is described as a "wretched-looking little man, but with a courteous and gentle manner that prepossessed people in his favour, and made them feel that they were before one accustomed to command." On his return visit to the *Dido*, such a train followed that very soon orders were given to prevent any more scrambling on board, though, Captain Keppel remarks, "whether in so doing the most important personages were kept out we did not ascertain."

A gentleman at Singapore having kindly undertaken to forward to Saráwak letters arriving by the English mail, Captain Keppel thought it prudent to send a convoy to meet the small yacht that was to bring them; and his pinnace being under repair, Brooke lent a large boat, built by the natives under his directions, named the *Jolly Bachelor*, which was despatched in command of Lieutenant Hunt. After pulling hard in chase of various suspicious boats, darkness came on, and every man, sentries included, fell asleep.

"At about three o'clock the following morning," writes Captain Keppel, "the moon being just about to rise, Lieutenant Hunt, happening to be awake, observed a savage brandishing a kris and performing a war-dance on the bit of deck, in an ecstacy of delight, thinking, in all probability, of the ease with which he had got possession of a fine trading boat, and calculating the cargo of slaves he had to sell, but little dreaming of the hornet's nest into which he had fallen. Lieutenant Hunt's round face meeting the light of the rising moon without a turban surmounting it, was the first notice the pirate had of his mistake. He immediately plunged overboard, and before Lieutenant Hunt had sufficiently recovered his astonishment to know whether he was dreaming or not, or to rouse his crew, a discharge from three or four cannon within a few yards, and the cutting through the rigging by the

various missiles with which the guns were loaded, soon convinced him there was no mistake. It was as well the men were still lying down, as not one was hurt; but on jumping to their legs they found themselves closely pressed by two large war-prahus, one on each bow. To return the fire, cut the cable, man the oars, and back astern to gain room, was the work of a minute; but now came the tug of war. Our men fought as British sailors ought to do; quarter was not expected on either side; and the quick and deadly aim of the marines prevented the pirates from reloading their guns. The Illanun prahus are built with strong bulwarks or barricades, grape-shot proof, through which ports are formed for working the guns; these had to be cut away by round shot before the musketry could bear effectually. In the meantime, the prahus pressed forward to board, while the *Jolly Bachelor* backed astern; but as soon as this service was achieved, our men dropped their oars, and seizing their muskets dashed on. The work was sharp but short, and the slaughter great. While one pirate boat was sinking, and an effort made to secure her, the other effected her escape by rounding a point of rock, where a third and larger prahu, hitherto unseen, came to her assistance. Among the mortally wounded in the captured prahu lay the young commander—one of the most noble forms of the human race; his countenance handsome as the hero of an oriental romance, and his whole bearing wonderfully impressive and touching. He was shot through the lungs, and his last moments were rapidly approaching. He tried to speak, but it was impossible. The pitying conquerors raised him gently up, and he was seated in comparative ease; but the end speedily came. He folded his arms heroically across his wounded breast, fixed his eyes upon the British seamen around, and casting one glance at the ocean—the theatre of his daring exploits, on which he had so often fought and triumphed—expired without a sigh. The spectators, though not unused to tragical sights, were unanimous in speaking of the death of the pirate chief as the most affecting spectacle they had ever witnessed. A sculptor might have

carved him as an Antinous in the mortal agonies of a dying gladiator."

Captain Keppel also describes the peaceful life at Kuching. Raja Brooke's house was similar to the natives', but furnished with sofas, chairs, and bedsteads.

"A large room in the centre, neatly ornamented with every description of firearms, served as an audience and mess room; and the various apartments around it as bed-rooms, most of them comfortably furnished with matted floors, easy-chairs, pictures, and books, with much more taste than bachelors usually display. The great feeding-time was at sunset, when Mr. Brooke took his seat at the head of the table, and all the establishment, as in days of yore, seated themselves according to their respective grades. This hospitable board was open to all the officers of the *Dido*, and many a jovial evening we spent there. All Mr. Brooke's party were characters; all had travelled, and never did a minute flag for want of some entertaining anecdote, good story, or song; and it was while smoking our cigars in the evening that the natives as well as the Chinese used to drop in, and, after creeping up according to their custom and touching the hand of their European Raja, retire to the further end of the room, and squatting down remain a couple of hours without uttering a word, and then creep out again. I have seen sixty or seventy of an evening come in and make this sort of salaam. All the Malays were armed, as it is reckoned an insult for one of them to appear before a Raja without his kris. I could not help remarking the manly bearing of the half-savage and nearly-naked mountain Dyak compared with the sneaking deportment of the Malay."

Brooke was very happy with his visitors; and he and Captain Keppel "vied with each other in the abolition of humbug." An expedition into the interior was organized, and Captain Keppel's account of the ascent of Singé Mountain throws an additional light on Brooke's work in that quarter:—

"The foot of the mountain was about four miles from the landing-place. We did not expect to find quite a turnpike road, but I, for one, was not prepared for the dance led us by our wild-cat-like guides—through thick jungle, and alternately over rocky hills or up to our middles in the soft marshes we had to cross. Our only means of doing so was by feeling on the surface of the mud (it being covered in most places about a foot deep with grass or discoloured water) for light spars thrown along lengthways, and quite unconnected; whilst our only support was an occasional stake on which we used to rest, as the spars invariably sank into the mud if we attempted to stop; and there being a long string of us, many a fall and flounder in the mud, gun and all, was the consequence. The ascent of the hill, although as steep as the side of a house, was strikingly beautiful. Our resting-places unluckily were few; but when we did reach one, the cool fresh breeze and the increasing extent and variety of scene amply repaid us; and on either hand we were sure to have a pure cool rivulet stumbling over the rocks. While going up, however, our whole care and attention were requisite to secure our safety, for it is not only one continued climb up ladders—but such ladders! They are made of the single trunk of a tree, in its rough and rounded state, with notches, not cut at the reasonable distance apart of the ratlins of our rigging, but requiring the knee to be brought up to the level of the chin before the feet are sufficiently parted to reach from one step to another; and that, when the muscles of the thigh begin to ache, and the wind is pumped out of the body, is distressing work. We mounted in this manner some five hundred feet; and it was up this steep that Mr. Brooke had ascended only a few months before to attack the Singhi Dyaks."

Before starting on this expedition Captain Keppel had received the following letter from Muda Hassim, delivered with great formality by Budrudeen in a large assembly of chiefs:—

"This friendly epistle, having its source in a pure mind, comes from the Raja Muda Hassim, next in succession to the

royal throne of the kingdom of Borneo, and who now holds his court at the trading city of Saráwak; to our friend Captain Keppel—head captain of the war-frigate belonging to Her British Majesty renowned throughout all countries—who is valiant and discreet, and endowed with a mild and gentle nature. This is to inform our friend that there are certain great pirates of the people of Sarebus and Sakarran in our neighbourhood, seizing goods and murdering people on the high seas. They have more than three hundred war-prahus, and extend their ravages even to Banjarmassim. They are not subject to the Government of Borneo; they take much plunder from vessels trading between Singapore and the good people of our country. It would be a great service if our friend would adopt measures to put an end to these piratical outrages. We can present nothing better to our friend than a kris, such as it is."

To this Captain Keppel returned reply:—

"Captain Keppel begs to acknowledge the receipt of the Raja Muda Hassim's letter, representing that the Dyaks of Sarebus and Sakarran are the pirates who infest the coast of Borneo, and do material damage to the trade of Singapore. Captain Keppel will take speedy measures to suppress these and all other pirates, and feels confident that Her Britannic Majesty will be glad to learn that the Raja Muda Hassim is ready to co-operate in so laudable an undertaking."

In pursuance of this promise, preparations were now made; and as the news got wind, rumours came from all quarters that Sarebus and Sakarran were preparing to resist; while, on the other hand, men nearer home whom Brooke knew to be addicted to piracy sent hasty messages that they intended to be models of behaviour in future; Pangeran Makota suddenly discovered that his boats were ready, and departed in a hurry to his dear friend Sheriff Sahib of Sadong; and Sheriff Sahib begged to inform Raja Brooke and Captain Keppel that a feast should be ready for them if they would honour him by their company—an invitation that was accompanied by a present of two handsome spears, and a

porcupine, and also by a profession of willingness to give up the women and children he had with the help of the Sakarrans captured from the Sow Dyaks.

When it became known that Brooke intended to join the expedition in person, sorrowful opposition arose in Saráwak. The Sarebus and Sakarran pirates had never been conquered, though repeatedly attacked by the united forces of the inland rulers; the present was considered a most hazardous undertaking, and the chiefs urgently besought their Raja not to go. But he was not to be dissuaded; they might go or remain as they chose—his mind was made up. Their simple reply to this permission was—"What is the use of our remaining? If you die, we die; and if you live, we live; we will go with you."

Early in June, a motley assemblage of European and native boats set out to attack the three strongholds of Sarebus—Paddi, about seventy miles up the river, Rembas and Pakoo, on two of its branches. To seek the sea-robbers in their own haunts, and make them feel practically some of the evils they were in the habit of inflicting on others, was the only effectual way, Brooke believed, to stop piracy, but it was by no means the most pleasant kind of warfare. The Sarebus, dangerous at all time from its bore, was found barricaded by rows of trees planted in its bed, their tops crossed and secured by rattans; and still further defended by forts always well placed, but, happily for the attackers, not very efficiently served. In parts the river was narrow and the jungle on each side alive with the enemy. Rain fell continually in deluging force, and night was the favourite time for action on the part of the natives.

"A sudden turn in the river," writes Captain Keppel, "brought us (Mr. Brooke was by my side) in front of a steep hill which rose from the bank. It had been cleared of jungle, and long grass grew in its place. As we hove in sight several hundred savages rose up and gave one of their war yells: it was the first I had heard. No report from musketry or ordnance could ever make a man's heart feel so small

as mine did at that horrid yell: but I had no leisure to think. I had only time for a shot at them with my double-barrel as they rushed down the steep, whilst I was carried past. On the roof of a long building on the summit of the hill were several warriors performing a war dance which it would be difficult to imitate on such a stage."

Then came the barricade, and here Captain Keppel espying a hole big enough to admit a canoe set his gig at it, Brooke steering, and they crushed through to find their solitary boat exposed to the fire of three forts, the guns of which were, fortunately for them, raised for the defence of the barricade so that the balls flew over their heads. By degrees more of the boats cut their way through the barricade, with some loss, and that evening Paddi was taken and burnt, not a difficult matter where all was wood, easily put up and easily destroyed; and no such cruel matter either, for the jungle came up close to the houses, and men, women, and children escaped into its dense cover.

This over, a report spread that a large fleet, supposed to be of pirates returning from an expedition, was coming up the river; and while breakfast was being discussed on the following morning, June 12th, tom-toms were heard, mingled with the chattering of many voices, and a large prahu, crowded with natives, came swiftly round a bend of the river with a strong flood tide. To seize arms was the work of a moment, and in another the new comers might perhaps have been saluted in no gentle fashion; when Williamson, Brooke's early interpreter, and now his most useful follower, who was happily present, declared that they were the Raja's native allies—friends and no enemies. And so it proved. Sheriff Jaffer had promised help, but, as he had not appeared at his appointed rendezvous, it was supposed that he had changed his mind, whereas he was only, native-like, behind time; and now he had arrived, accompanied by his son, Sheriff Ahmet, a fine young lad, and followed by 800 Linga Dyaks. The first thing to be done was to supply each man with a strip of white calico to be worn in the head-dress as

a distinguished mark, and then "Datu" was established as a watchword, the repetition of which was found very consoling to the nerves of the more timid. Another night of rain, yells, tom-toms, and much random firing, and then preparations were made for ascending the river beyond the ruins of the town; but this show of advance, backed up by a signal skyrocket, was too much for the enemy, and a boat came down the river with a flag of truce. An unarmed Malay was immediately sent to meet it and return with the messengers. To these Captain Keppel said that he would wait a couple of hours, but that he could treat only with the chiefs, whom he invited to come to him at one o'clock. The news of the truce spread instantly, and some seventy or eighty of the natives, laying aside their spears, came up with perfect confidence and examined the English boat and crew with great interest. At the appointed time the chiefs arrived, dressed in their best, but looking haggard, and then the White Raja of Saráwak, they had so often heard of and received messages from, spoke to them.

They must understand, he said, that this invasion was not for plunder or pillage, but simply a punishment for acts of piracy by land and sea, and that he had warned them two years before that Great Britain would no longer allow the native trade between Borneo and Singapore to be interrupted and the crews murdered. They were very humble and submissive: their lives, they said, they knew to be forfeited, and they were prepared to die, although equally willing to live. They would promise to refrain for ever from piracy, and to give hostages for good conduct.

Brooke next tried to persuade them of the advantage of trading themselves instead of being trade destroyers, and invited them to a great conference on the subject which should be held in Saráwak, when they would have an opportunity of seeing the happiness of the people who followed his counsel; warning them at the same time that if they returned to their evil ways they must expect a worse punishment. Then he spoke to them about Pakoo and Rembas, and inquired

if the Paddi men would hold themselves responsible for the good conduct of these, but this the chiefs altogether declined: it would be quite hard work enough to be responsible for themselves; Pakoo and Rembas were strong in impregnable fastnesses, and they believed that nothing short of the chastisement they had themselves received would make either change its ways. They wished also to say that though they would never yield to the great chiefs Sheriffs Sahib and Muller, and join them in piracy, yet they could not bring themselves to fight against their old allies.

The conference over, it was found that Sheriff Jaffer and his Dyaks had taken the opportunity to destroy the large stores of winter rice, and to do as much damage to the country as limited time would allow. They had a feud of long standing to settle with Sarebus, and this golden opportunity was not going to be lost. It was natural, but it was not the less provoking.

Leaving Paddi, not without a yell from the triumphant Linga Dyaks, the force proceeded down the river to the branch on which Pakoo is built. The renowned fortress proved anything but impregnable, though had the forts that defended it been properly served the boats might have had sharp work. This also was burnt, and the day following the Pakoo chiefs came down with a flag of truce, were talked to as at Paddi, and equally promised amendment. They were ready, they said, to give their own lives, but hoped their wives and children might be spared. Would they come to a conference in Saráwak? asked Brooke; and would they be responsible for Rembas? To the latter inquiry they returned a negative quite as decided as had been that of the Paddi chiefs, and equally with them declared that nothing but force would teach the lesson.

At Rembas a succession of formidable barriers across the river gave some trouble. About a mile from the town the Linga Dyaks landed and did all the jungle fighting, greatly to their own satisfaction, and to the increase of the heroic traditions of the tribe. Rembas was stronger than either of

the other places, but its men were discouraged by the fall of Paddi and Pakoo. All these towns had considered themselves beyond the reach of harm, and they looked also for protection to the river bore. But the bore had never been known so quiet as during these few days, and the simple people declared that the White Raja had charmed it.

After Rembas had been destroyed its people also sued for peace, were admonished, and invited to Saráwak. And then the expedition returned to Kuching, to be received in triumph by Muda Hassim. Every boat at his command was gaily dressed and sent down the river to meet the returning heroes, gongs sounded on all sides, and every gun that could make a noise without bursting was fired.

"When we were seated in the Raja's presence," Captain Keppel writes, "the royal countenance relaxed into a smile of real pleasure as he turned his wondering eyes from Mr. Brooke to myself, and back again. I suppose he thought a great deal of us, as he said little or nothing; and as we were rather hungry after our pull we were glad to get away to Mr. Brooke's hospitable board, to which we did ample justice."

Soon after this, orders were received recalling the *Dido* to China, and Captain Keppel, to Brooke's great regret, and hardly less to his own, was obliged to leave. There was the charm of novelty round everything, and as a proof how little the coast of Borneo was known, Captain Keppel states that, according to the best Admiralty charts, the *Dido* sailed over eighty miles of land and the tops of mountains!

"I had just seen enough," he writes, "of Borneo and my enterprising friend Mr. Brooke, to feel the deepest interest in both. No description of mine can in any way give a proper idea of the character of the man I had just left; and, however interesting his Journal may appear in the reading, it is only by being in his company, and by hearing him advocate the cause of the persecuted island natives, and listening to his vivid and fair descriptions of the beautiful country he has adopted, that one can be made to enter fully into and feel what I would fain describe, but cannot."

The two men parted with mutual regret, and from that day to this the people of Saráwak and their English Rajas have never known a warmer friend, one more full of interest in their joys and cares, or more ready to help to the utmost of his power, than the *Dido's* commander, now Admiral Sir Henry Keppel.

CHAPTER XIV.

1843, 1844.

THE next event was the arrival, long expected, of Captain Sir Edward Belcher, commissioned to report officially on Saráwak and Borneo Proper. Sir Edward made some examination of the first, and then requested the Raja to accompany him to Brunė. What followed is related in a letter to Mrs. Brooke, dated July 19, 1843—

"I delayed writing, as we were going to Borneo Proper in H.M.S. *Samarang*, commanded by Captain Sir Edward Belcher; but, as ill-luck would have it, in going down the river she grounded close to my house on a rock, and falling over with the ebb-tide, filled. Sir E. B. and his officers (some at least) think they can save the vessel; but it will be a tedious task, and in the meantime I have two hundred men to entertain, and the *Royalist* is hurried away to Singapore for provisions and for aid. To me the provisions are a matter of indifference, but an English crew must have their appetites satisfied or they will not work; and beef, bread, and pork, with other et ceteras, are as the breath of their nostrils, which rice cannot offer an equivalent for.

"On public points, with Sir E. B. I am candid to an extreme. I will not, for any foolish distinction, compromise my honesty or my independence; for I feel and know that I am in a situation which shall stamp me as a man of worth or as a mere adventurer after gain. God forbid I should seek the latter character! and, dearest mother, I know you would

rather embrace me the same single-minded child, boy, man, you have ever known me, than the hackneyed slave who aims at worldly wealth and worldly pelf. Let events progress; but I am firmly assured that if I fail in one case I shall possess in poverty my self-esteem; and if I succeed in the other, I should, with a keen sensibility, feel a sense of degradation, for which no wealth, no honours, and no worldly distinction could repay me. I write in a hurry, yet I cannot help telling you all I feel. I have no sanguine hopes, and you may all be assured that wealth will never be the upshot of my enterprise. Is wealth so valuable? Hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands are but the elysium of worldliness: and you, my dearest mother, who know me so well, must know that I covet not these things. Action—a sphere for my abilities—I have coveted. I have made one, spite of no ordinary obstacles; but once made, I aim at no results. I go straight forward on my path, and let others judge. Now my say is said, and my paper finished; but I must mention that a youngster, by name Brereton, a nephew of the Bishop of Calcutta, and a grandson of Joseph Wilson, only thirteen years of age, is in the *Samarang*. He is a delicate and gentlemanly boy, and his age is tender; and when I think of our Charley I cannot help my heart expanding towards him. If you will recall my folly and jokes, you will understand why I am inclined to be very kind; and really already I like him for his own sake. To-morrow I mean to make him write to his mamma. Could I do less, knowing how you would feel, even old gentleman as I am, were you to hear that my vessel was sunken on the most innocent rock? Farewell, dearest mother! I have written to Anthony, business-like, but have only to add a thousand loves to you all; and let me give you one advice, which is, whatever you hear, and whatever is told you, do not be sanguine—(proud you may be of me)—as to any personal advantages which may accrue to myself. I am the sole judge of my situation and prospects. Above all, never doubt Templer, for he is my friend; and a friend is worth a dozen agents."

The *Samarang* officers and men worked hard to save their vessel, Brooke helping with all the means at his disposal, and rejoicing the while at the example of persevering energy set to Dyak and Malay. Whether his people would ever so work was doubtful; but though the ship's stores lay scattered in all directions, not one case of theft was brought against a native. It does not, of course, follow that nothing was stolen; but it would have been unlike British sailors to have troubled in any way by complaints a man who befriended them as Brooke did. Greatly to their credit, the ship was righted after eleven days' hard labour, and before help arrived from Singapore.

"It certainly was not a service of love," wrote one of her officers, Frank Marryat, son of the well-known author, "as we had to raise a ship which we hoped would remain where she was. The kindness of Mr. Brooke was beyond all bounds. The gentlemen who resided with him, as well as himself, provided us with clothes from their own wardrobes, and during our protracted stay did all in their power to make us comfortable: indeed, I may safely say that we were so happy and comfortable that there were but very few of the officers and crew of the *Samarang* that ever wished to see her afloat again."

This sense of comfort seems to have been proof against "nightly visits of wild hogs, porcupines, wild cats, guanoes, and various other animals, some of which made dreadful noises," not to speak of "swarms of mosquitoes, scorpions, lizards, and centipedes that secreted themselves in the thatch, and failed not to disturb with their onslaughts during the whole night."

Kuching was now gay with vessels. Two brigs of war, the *Harlequin* and *Wanderer;* two steamers, the *Vixen* and *Diana;* with the *Royalist* and a little brig, *Ariel*, sent out by Mr. Wise, somewhat to Brooke's bewilderment; together with the rescued *Samarang*, made up such a fleet as Saráwak had never seen before. An expedition into the interior is described by Frank Marryat, who tells of an evening's halt,

when they fell to games, and remarks, "I do not know what the natives thought at seeing their Raja playing leap-frog!"

The vessel being ready, Sir Edward Belcher, with Raja Brooke on board, sailed for Brunéi, which they found in a worse state of disorganization, the only hopeful sign being an increased desire for Muda Hassim's return. The Sultan was civil, confirmed Brooke in possession of Saráwak in perpetuity, and presented to Sir Edward Belcher a document signed by himself and the chief men, stating their desire to open their ports to trade, and their wish to suppress piracy. Brooke believed that they would give land in exchange for protection, and pointed out Moara or Labuan as suitable spots should such an arrangement be effected. His views on Brunéi were, by Sir Edward's desire, put on paper; they are thus summarized in a letter to Mr. Templer:—

"When I do write I shall say or sing to the following purport, only in a more *stiltified* style:—That the Borneo Rajas are easy to manage, but that these same Rajas will never agree amongst themselves, and that one party or the other will be sure to break faith by some overt act against us, merely to spite his neighbour; that a mob of high-born rascals, and their slaves the scum of the earth, are not to be managed until convinced that they dare not do wrong. We must have some recognized head to govern Brunéi, and we must support him to a certain extent, for the Government now is but a shadow, a name, or worse, a malicious brownie. This responsible head is or ought to be Muda Hassim, because he is well inclined, moderately honest, and has a clever younger brother Budrudeen, who is fitted by nature to govern, and will go the entire hog with us. He is a very clever fellow for a native, and far more clever than many better educated and more experienced Europeans. The Sultan, so called, has no wits, is influenced by every paltry vagabond, and is ignorant of Europeans. Pangeran Usop in his heart is opposed to Europeans, and has no title from birth to rule the State. Mind, I am not recommending a violent change, but merely that British countenance should place

Muda Hassim in a situation to become the virtual ruler of the State.

"On the next point, dear Jack, I wish to be serious, as it in some measure affects me; or, at any rate, I shall be held responsible, right or wrong. I know not what statements have been made, I know not what expectations are raised, but it does appear to me, judging from Mr. Wise's letters and the steps he has taken, that some exaggerated hopes are entertained, and hopes as unreasonable as exaggerated. As far as concerns Wise, this signifies not; for, being in communication with me, he must bear the consequences of measures taken without my consent or approval; but I would not on any account have this mania spread, nor do I desire that the truth should in any way be concealed or heightened.

"In fact, Jack, I will become no party to a bubble, or gain, or accept any negotiation from Government upon false grounds. Of course I am totally ignorant of the statements which have been made to Sir Robert Peel, or how far the steps now in progress may have been based on these very statements: but I perceive that an immediate and considerable opening for British commerce is expected. My own opinion of the capabilities of the country remains unchanged. I believe it a very fine and naturally a very rich country; but torn by civil war, uncultivated from bad governments, with a scanty and wild population, what is it to produce? Or rather, how is the produce reasonably to be expected to pour itself into the lap of the first merchant, who, sitting snug in some dusty den in the City, fancies that the course of trade runs as smooth in Borneo as in London, and that by only sending a vessel he can command a return cargo in a country where the number of inhabitants is not sufficient to gather him a cargo till the expenses of delay have swallowed up all the profits of price? He fancies that if he can only gain the start of his compatriots—forgetting that they be as cunningly silly as himself—he shall gain—Heaven knows how much per cent.; but he never calculates that in a rude and ill-governed country the mass of the people are afraid to barter for his goods, that the

chiefs have profits of their own to guard—native traders jealous of his advent—a rude and simple people, who barter in a most fanciful and paltry manner. He forgets all this; and, being out of pocket by his own folly, abuses the country and its inhabitants. All experience is set at nought. The Indian free trade, the opening of the South American markets, the tea market, all injured the silly dealers, who glutted the markets with British produce. China, provided the treaty be satisfactorily concluded, will follow the same rule. Vast as that country is, with developed resources and a fixed system of trade, yet will our madly-industrious manufacturers over-export to injure themselves and benefit the Chinese. What must it be when the same game is to be played in Borneo? Bah! it makes me savage. Let me tell you, too, that to attract to Saráwak the trade which goes already to Singapore is only robbing Peter to pay Paul. The object is to give confidence to the natives, to reach the produce of the country, which now never comes to market—to civilize the Dyak, and make him in time a trader.

"How very slow is this process—how it requires patience and time—and how in my hands it may fail altogether, I need say no more; for, with the heads, you can puzzle out the argument. I have not patience to detail, and you can protect me from misconstruction on this point. If the meteor flag of England waves, the progress of civilization will be quicker, but not quick; and to expect any immediate advantage is a delusion. Oh! the green and greasy public, Jack—how I should like to gull them to their hearts' content, if one could only do so without hurting them!—and would it not be worth while to mystify them only to see their commonplace green eyes, after believing all, beginning to doubt and open!

"Some few new and unheard-of truths ought to be impressed on the gentle public. The first is, that to work mines, to cultivate land, to civilize wild tribes, to encourage immigration, requires time and capital, and involves some risk. Secondly, that when they play such a game, they ought to be gifted with patience, and not grumble if the chances go against

them individually. Thirdly, that good government, slowly, but surely, wins the confidence of oppressed people; but that the evils of bad government do not cease with the bad government itself; for governments impress their characteristic stamp on the people, and a distrustful dog snaps or slinks away long after he is blessed with a kind master."

On the 9th of September, while at Bruné, he wrote to his niece, Mary Johnson—

"I am now staying in that most horrid town, Borneo, or, as the natives rightly call it, Bruné, and I shall be most delighted when I get clear away. The town consists of a vast assemblage of thatched houses of various sizes, raised upon posts stuck in the river, so that at high water it is quite Venice, composed of posts and thatch. The people are civil enough, but a wretched set; and, from bad government, as fine a country as a person would wish to look upon is reduced to misery and distress. The scenery is very pretty, the ground clear of forest and gently undulating, and the fine river runs between moderately high hills. I long to ramble over these hills, but the Rajas are far too jealous to allow a European to go where he pleases.

"When, my dear girl, shall I see you all again? I often ask myself, and as often am at a loss for an answer. I wish to return home, and yet I have so many links of the long chain I have been forging for myself to keep me where I am that I do not like to break loose. If good fortune continues with me, perhaps the time may not be far distant; but, otherwise, I shall be an old man, broken and ill-tempered, before we meet again, and I shall then trust to you to be my nurse and companion, unless you have chosen a companion for yourself beforehand.

"You seem, my dear Mary, to be deprecating my displeasure for your fondness for Bath, and your enjoyment of its gaieties. What is more natural than your enjoying the gaieties which are suited to youth? I do not like Bath, or, rather, I did not like it formerly. The general style of the society I think bad, and its gaiety I found dull to my taste,

but that is no reason you should not like it very much. I have many friends and many persons I value highly living there, and when I come back I will beg your company to visit the renowned town, and will go with you to some balls and parties. If I am half as rich as papa says I am to be, I will give you some gay balls, and hire an opera-box for the season on purpose to let you sit in it."

While at Brunê, Brooke heard, through an Arab trader, of a European lady being in captivity at Ambong. Of this he writes—"It is so shocking to think of, that I have commissioned him to redeem her *coûte que coûte*. It is a base mode of redemption, and vastly unknightly, but the only mode to effect the object, unless some other gallant captain, like Keppel, will come and help me. A captive damsel! Does it not conjure up images of blue eyes and auburn hair of hyacinthine flow! And, after all, a fat old Dutch *frau* may be the reality! Poor creature! even though she be old, and fat, and unamiable, and ugly, it is shocking to think of such a fate as a life passed amid savages!"

Small-pox was raging, and Sir Edward Belcher did not stay long, but, after an inspection that seemed to Brooke too cursory for the object in view, returned to Singapore. While sailing in the *Royalist* back to Saráwak, Brooke wrote to his mother, not knowing that while he wrote she was dying:—

"*September* 24, 1843.—I am lying on my oars until the Government decide how much or how little it intends doing, and how far I am to become a party concerned in the arrangements. . . . I wish you could know the Pangeran Budrudeen. As a companion, I find him superior to most of those about me, and there is something particularly interesting in sounding the depths and the shallows of an intelligent native mind, and observing them freed from the trammels of court etiquette. I have, however, one or two good and intelligent companions. First is Ruppell, whom I formerly knew in Bridport, a man highly respectable and pleasing, with a cool temper and matured judgment. Next is Steward, Mr. Wise's partner, who proves to be an old school-fellow, and is a

gentlemanly and adventurous person, with good temper, good sense, and conciliating manners. . . . This point is essential to the good government of natives, and on this point it is that most Europeans are so grossly wanting. They always take their own customs, feelings, and manners, and, in a way, force the natives to conform to them, and never give themselves the trouble of ascertaining how far these manners are repugnant to them. I have seen so much of this, and the pig-headed obstinacy with which it is maintained, that had I power I would be careful in the selection of persons to govern in a new native country, and very severe upon any faults of harshness and severity. When we desire to improve and elevate a people, we must not begin by treating them as an inferior race; and this is too generally the style of our Indian rulers, with a few brilliant exceptions. Sir Stamford Raffles, Mr. Crauford, and Colonel Farquhar, especially the former, are still remembered with affection by the elder natives, and in places where they were unknown they are respected and talked of. Well, well, we shall see what the future brings for Saráwak; and I am sure of one thing, that exaggerated hopes and statements must lead to disappointment and reaction.

"I now often think of and wish for a return to England; and my desire, loved mother, to embrace you again, seems to to acquire force, as my position appears more settled. The world to me would be a gloomy one without you; and all my reminiscences of the past, all my best affections, are centred on you. What should I ever have been without your love and teaching? Nature, and books, and flowers, are doubly loved, because I have enjoyed them in your society so often; and now, as my morning nosegay is brought me, I revert to you as naturally as though you were near to enjoy them with me. The world may offer ambition and riches, and troops of *soi-disant* friends, but sure I am it offers few pure affections; and the more we see of it, the more we cling to those we have loved always. No one has less reason to complain than myself on this score, for I retain most of the friends of my

youth, and still feel for them, and believe they feel for me, the warmest regard; and the world in general—the self-interest world—has not as yet used me ill, and therefore I have no right to abuse it. Do you remember, when young at Bath, that people did not *understand* me? Now everybody understands me, and I really think I have acquired, or am acquiring, the most plausible and pleasing manners! I am not the least shy or reserved to outward appearance, and I really do all I can to shake myself clear of this inherent complaint. Restraint and company I bear far better than formerly; and if I get the morning to myself, I am content to devote the rest of my time to anybody or everybody, to talk sense or nonsense at their pleasure, and to receive or impart as much information as possible. My habits I can say nothing in praise of, for I keep very bad hours, seldom rising before eight, and seldom sleeping till two in the morning. Night, however, is the time when business is best conducted with the native Rajas, for it is the time when they live and are really awake.

"I read, my loved mother, with regret of your ailment; yet I cannot but rejoice to think that you have periods when life is sunny and enjoyable, and that your ills are not of a serious character. I am very glad that Martha is with you again, for she is gentle and sensible. Pray give my remembrances to her, and thank her for her addition to the 'Fancy Fair.' I am sorry to think I have nothing to send her in token of my good wishes, but my country produces no shawls, nor silks, nor bonnets. You never mention poor old Charlton, yet I want to hear of the dear old creature. Poor old Anne must be immortal, for she arrived at the verge of life apparently twenty years ago."

"*September 29th.*—I have nothing to add but melancholy intelligence—poor Colin Hart died some days before my return. Thus, an old and faithful servant has fallen a victim to intemperance, which habit has grown on him since he got command of the schooner. How little do we know what is good for us! This command was what the poor fellow

greatly desired. Under the circumstances it is better he died than lived, for I fear he would have lived a life of pain and poverty."

The year 1843, now fast closing, left Saráwak in peace. "The Dyaks—the *poor oppressed Dyaks*—are really quite fat and happy-looking," wrote their Raja; "it maketh me complacent to witness it." In November he was able to say, "Two years ago I prevented the Dyak tribes making war or taking heads within my territory. Now I have advanced a step, and have threatened to withdraw my protection from such tribes as continue addicted to head-hunting excursions. In another year or two I hope openly to put an end to their right of making war one tribe on another: but I desire first to increase the difficulties, until head-taking becomes merely a dead letter."

In December Sheriff Sahib thought it prudent to return the fifty women and children stolen from the Sow tribe, and though he still kept fifty more, yet this was something gained, and Brooke had the great pleasure of giving them back to their tribe. There was plenty to keep him occupied, and as the aspect of things brightened around him, and he became more convinced of the good that might be done at comparatively little cost, he hoped the more earnestly that the British Government would follow up the advantage and enter by the breach that he had won.

"I believe the case may rest on its own merits," he wrote to Mr. Templer, November 10th, "and the results must depend on the wisdom of those who carry out what I have begun. There is a point which I would not pass, not for the favour or patronage of all the porcelain upon earth; and I believe any one who solicits importunately, has passed that point, or is in danger of doing so. I would not, therefore, have you do what I would not do myself. My coming home at present is out of the question, for you know not how shy and cunning the natives are, and those of other rivers whom I now rule would make it a handle to disturb all I have done. One of their modes of intimidating the Dyaks is, that I am

a bird of passage; they themselves permanently attached to the soil. 'Wait,' they say, 'till he flies away, and then——!' There is no doubt a fear of a foreign nation stepping in, provided we are very dilatory, and I believe the chance of such an event now or hereafter has its due effect on our Government. I am too good a subject to be the agent, unless our own country positively would not take any interest, and that I was very hard pushed myself.

"If we act we ought to act without unnecessary delay: take Saráwak and Labuan, or Labuan alone, and push our interest along the coast to Sulu, and from Sulu towards New Guinea, gaining an influence with such States (and acquiring dormant rights) as are clear of the Dutch on the one hand, and of the Spaniards on the other. Celebes should not be excluded, but we should foster the Bugis trade, and protect it against Dutch exactions, and allow the independent native states of the island fair play, which they are at present debarred from."

To the Reverend F. C. Johnson he wrote, December 11th—

"Admiral Sir Wm. Parker wrote me a flattering letter for the service and kindness I had rendered the *Samarang*.

"I must, in answer to all your hymns of triumph, preach caution and despondence, for small beginnings have great endings—do not forget that, *mon frère!* As for holding on, you may be sure I shall not now in the bloom of power and success abandon Saráwak, except it be from some sad and unforeseen events, and even then I shall have a *locum tenens*. How far her Majesty's Government will trust me I know not, but they must trust me to a certain extent or I will not serve them, for I do not look upon myself as a humble petitioner for their patronage, and at all events I shall feel a pang when I give up my independence."

In December, not having been well, and as everything was quiet, he went to Singapore for change, and in the hope of meeting Sir W. Parker. Here Christmastide passed pleasantly, but early in January, 1844, tidings of his mother's death reached him. It was a sore blow and an unexpected one, for

he had not known of any cause for anxiety. That she had always written cheerfully to him is evident by that echo of her letters which we find in his. Other things also we gather in this way:—she gave him a full and unselfish sympathy; she let him feel that she trusted him to dare and do; she was willing he should, if needs be, suffer. She did not burden him with her anxiety for his safety, nor urge him to leave for her sake a work that it seemed to him God had put into his hands to do. But the mother's heart did not ache the less. In December, 1842, she wrote from Cheltenham to Mr. F. C. Johnson, giving an extract of a letter just received from her son, written after his first visit to Bruné. "I must tell you, loved mother," it ran, "what pleasure your letter afforded me, and now that I can convey to you such cheerful news, such complete success, such good prospects for the future, I know I shall make your heart glad as you have made mine." After quoting this and a little more she adds, "I am not cheered by loved James's letters, as he is involved in cares, and living among savages; nor can I again hope to enjoy much of his society. My state of health and spirits prevents my being able to see things in a cheerful point of view."

But not a shadow of this seems to have reached her son except through others.

To his sister the Raja wrote, January 14, 1844—

"I have just been writing, dearest Emma, to Margaret. The first effort costs me much; I cannot yet write about our loss and remain composed. Let it be so with us all, dearest, as you say; let us look upon the departure of our mother as a strong reason for the strictest affection and confidence amongst each other. Fear nothing for me, dearest; men's hearts are tender enough to suffer, but too tough to break. Time brings relief to it, I must trust. I could not, do not desire to, recall our mother to a world of care and sorrow; it only appears strange to me that we cling to it so tenaciously, or that any good or evil in this state can affect us. God bless you, dearest sister! Thank Charles for his letter, which I will answer by the next opportunity, and, grieving as we grieve, we can feel for his loss."

"You know how I loved her—you may guess how I mourn her," he wrote to Mr. Templer, March 6th. "All my other news is very good; but, like a spoilt child, I seem to value as nothing other subjects, or blessings, as they ought to be called."

After the first shock he turned for relief of mind to active employment, and just at this time a squadron, composed of H.M.S. *Wanderer*, Captain Henry Seymour; H.M.S. *Harlequin*, Captain the Hon. George Hastings; with the East India Company's steamer *Diana*; had been ordered to Sumatra to demand redress for outrages on British subjects and commerce. All three vessels had visited Saráwak; Captains Hastings and Seymour had become Brooke's personal friends, the latter now gladly made room for him in the *Wanderer*. Their first visit was to Acheen, of which he wrote—

"I was glad of the opportunity I had of seeing the political state of Acheen, as it has fully confirmed my views, which I made known to Sir Edward Belcher, of the steps necessary to protect and enlarge our commerce. Acheen, like Borneo, is now in such a state of distraction that no security can be found for life or property.

"To protect our trade we must *make a monarch* and uphold him, and he would be a British servant *de facto*. This would not be difficult, nor would it be expensive. It is astonishing, however, how complete is the ignorance of the Singapore authorities as to what regards their foreign policy. I know not where the fault lies; but it is lamentable that we are unacquainted with the characters, and often with the names, of men who are ruling rivers, and cheating, plundering, and murdering our subjects. Nor do the authorities know the parties which divide the native states; and by knowing the factions (for they be as factious as ourselves) which exist, we could always raise the better and depress the worse, or, in other words, support those who will benefit ourselves."

They could obtain no redress or explanation; and at Murdoo, the scene of the outrage, five hours' stiff fighting took place, in which Brooke had an eyebrow cut across by a spear,

and a shot in his right arm, as he charged the stockade. Captain Seymour took him back to Penang, where meanwhile the *Dido* had arrived. The crew of the *Wanderer* cheered him on his leaving the vessel, but Captain Keppel suggested to his friend that fighting enough was to be had in Borneo without risking his life elsewhere. The *Dido* was then on her way to Calcutta; but her captain hoped to be able very shortly to visit Saráwak again, and Brooke would have stood a less reasonable reproof accompanied by this prospect.

The following letter to Mrs. Johnson was written at Singapore, while awaiting the expected return of the *Dido*. He has been speaking of the comparatively idle life he feels he is leading, and goes on—

"At Saráwak it is different: for there I have to distribute justice, to make excursions among the Dyak tribes to see that they are not injured or aggrieved, and to attend to the foreign policy of our neighbouring rivers. I have, above all, the sense of being a good boy, and of being of use to my fellow children, which gilds existence, and satisfies the cravings of imagination. I look with such a comfortable feeling upon the improvements going on around me: every clearing that is made I look upon as my work; every house that springs up owes its foundation to me—they minister all to my satisfaction; and when I witness the contented faces, and know that the people are secured from rapine and extortion, I chuckle inwardly and devise new schemes of advancement for my adopted country. Saráwak indeed is to me like a foundling, which at first you protect with hesitation and doubt, but which foundling afterwards repays your cost and trouble."

On reaching Calcutta Captain Keppel was unexpectedly ordered to China, and the Raja had a tedious detention in consequence at Singapore, for he had sent back his new schooner the *Julia*, and the *Royalist* was sold.

At length, about the end of May, Captain Hastings gave him a passage over in the *Harlequin*, and it was time he returned, for Kuching was almost in a state of siege, with all her forts manned in anticipation of attack from Sheriff Sahib

of Sadong. The Raja's first step was to call in all the men from the forts: he was at home now, and that would be enough for defence. Then a message was sent to Sheriff Sahib that he should suffer for his misdeeds. Frightened for a time by the punishment of Sarebus, no sooner had Brooke left for Singapore than the old pirate began building war-boats; and upwards of two hundred were now ready, clustered together, and on the eve of beginning operations. "Oh, for the *Dido!*" Brooke groaned. "Oh, for force sufficient to crush this swarm of hornets before they scatter themselves on their accursed errands! Another week, and it will be too late! 'All the Queen's ships, and all the Queen's men, could not bring such a chance together again!'" But the *Harlequin* could merely drop him and depart, and the Saráwak force alone was too weak to act on the offensive except in extreme case. There was no help for it but to wait for the *Dido*.

And now, day after day brought its direful tale of pillage and murder along all the coast save Saráwak; and at last, growing bolder, the enemy even ventured here, and a farm of the Singé tribe was attacked in broad daylight. But this was going too far. At midnight Brooke received the intelligence, and at two in the morning his boats dropped down the river to intercept the pirates' return. A storm came on, and the enemy escaped with their lives, but left their shot-riddled boats and plunder behind, and gave the White Raja a wider berth in the future. It was a time of great anxiety to him, and yet he was not sorry that things should come to a head and be decided one way or another. If Captain Keppel came all would be right; otherwise, on the arrival of a gunboat purchased at Singapore, he hoped to be able to blockade the enemy in one of their rivers, and bring them to terms by stopping the importation of their great necessity—salt.

At last, late in July, the much-longed-for *Dido* arrived, the more welcome to the Raja because she brought, as one of her midshipmen, his nephew Charles Johnson, the Charley of

Lackington. With the *Dido* came the H.E.I. Co.'s steamer *Phlegethon*.

Captain Keppel found Kuching much altered for the better, and the population considerably increased. Neat and pretty-looking Swiss cottages had sprung up on all the most picturesque spots, which gave it quite a European look. Not European, however, was the letter that greeted him from Muda Hassim. In this *our friend* was informed of the doings of the pirates, and that Captain Belcher had "told the Sultan and myself that it would be pleasing to the Queen of England that we should repress piracy; and we signed an agreement at his request, in which we promised to do so; and we tell our friend of the piracies and evil actions of the Sakarran people," etc.; winding up with, "We inform our friend Captain Keppel of this, as we desire to end all the piracy, and perform our agreement with the Queen of England."

Within a week of the *Dido's* arrival, the second expedition started, accompanied this time by Budrudeen—a great event in the annals of the royal family, and duly honoured in consequence. The barge of State was decked out with banners and canopies; all the chiefs attended, with the Arab priest Mudlana at their head; and the barge pushed off amidst the firing of cannon and prayers for a blessing on the undertaking.

Patusen, the stronghold of the offending Sheriffs, was 60 miles up the Batang Lupar. This river, among other tributaries, has three principal ones—Linga, nearest its mouth, Undup, and Sakarran. Of these, Linga may some day be better known, from the recent discovery of good coal in its neighbourhood. At its junction with the Batang Lupar that river is from three to four miles wide, with an average depth of from five to seven fathoms. This was the country of Sheriff Jaffer, and anchoring here, a message was sent to explain the object of the expedition, and to warn him against helping Sheriff Sahib or his brother Sheriff Muller.

At Patusen there were five forts taken. Mr. Wade, the *Dido's* first lieutenant, led the boats, and the men of both *Dido* and *Phlegethon* vied with each other in the effort to

reach the points of most danger. Of the natives, Captain Keppel says, "Our Saráwak followers, both Malays and Dyaks, behaved with the greatest gallantry, and dashed in under the fire of the forts. In fact, like their country, anything might be made of them under a good Government; and such is their confidence in Mr. Brooke's judgment and their attachment to his person that he might safely defy in his own stronghold the attacks of any foreign power."

Patusen was taken and burnt. About two miles from the town they came upon Sheriff Sahib's residence, and found a curious and extensive wardrobe, which the Saráwak Dyaks greatly appreciated and appropriated. In the rear of the house was a magazine containing about two tons of gunpowder. The defences, although unfinished, were strong; sixty brass cannon were captured, and many of them iron-spiked and thrown into the river. Had the attack been delayed for even a few weeks Patusen could hardly have been taken without considerable loss.

A little farther on by a bend of the river Pangeran Makota had settled himself very comfortably, adorning his house with various presents that Brooke had given him: amongst them was a Turkish pipe and some chairs from the *Royalist*. As usual, he was at the bottom of much of the mischief, and Captain Keppel enjoyed the idea of routing him out, while Budrudeen vowed deadly vengeance, but Brooke desired that, if captured, his life should be spared. The house was found deserted, Makota having fled to Undup, the haunt of Sheriff Muller. While at Patusen a large number of Linga men joined, but without Sheriff Jaffer, and they were sent back with the repeated assurance of safety so long as they refrained from helping the enemy.

Advancing higher up to the Undup and Sakarran streams, the attacking force found itself, on the evening of August 10th, in face of a barrier, formed, as in the Sarebus, of felled trees. Here they passed the night, some in boats and some on land.

About midnight a wild Dyak yell, responded to from all quarters, brought every one to his feet in the certainty of a

surprise; and in the thick darkness each man's pistol was at his neighbour's head, on the supposition that he was a Sakarran, but "as each in his turn called out 'Tiga' (the watch-word for the night), I (Captain Keppel) withdrew my weapon to apply it to somebody else, until at last we found that we were all Tigas. I had prevented my bugler, John Eager, from sounding the alarm, which he had not ceased to press me for permission to do. The Dyak yell had, however, succeeded in throwing the whole force afloat into a similar confusion, and, not hearing the signal, they concluded that they and not we were the party attacked. The real cause we afterwards ascertained to have arisen from the alarm of a Dyak, who dreamt or imagined that he felt a spear thrust upwards through the bamboo flooring of our building, and immediately gave his diabolical yell. The confusion was ten times as much as it would have been had the enemy really been there."

The barrier cut through, they reached Sheriff Muller's town, and found it deserted, after which, and more barricades passed, the Saráwak chief Patingi Ali, who had behaved with great courage the whole time, espying Sheriff Muller's departing prahu, gave chase, and captured it with a rich booty, the Sheriff saving himself in the jungle. There was a good deal of skirmishing, and Lieutenant Wade, pushing on far in advance of his men, fell mortally wounded at his captain's feet. "During the heat of the pursuit," writes the latter, "although too anxious to advance to await the arrival of his men, he nevertheless found time to conceal in a place of security a poor terrified Malay girl whom he overtook, and who by an imploring look touched his heart." His loss was greatly felt, for he was loved by all. His body was that evening buried in the river in the presence of the whole force, Captain Keppel reading the service from a prayer-book found in the young officer's pocket. He had brought it with him, as he said, "in case of accident."

After two days' rest—for the labour had been great—Sakarran was attacked; and here the brave old Patingi Ali

lost his life. His head was perhaps a little turned by the cheers he had won from the sailors, and, having been allowed to advance with strict injunctions to fall back if the enemy appeared, he forgot his orders, and possibly encouraged by Mr. Steward who, unknown to Captain Keppel, was in his boat, engaged with an overwhelming force. His retreat was cut off by heavy rafts, and although the Raja and Captain Keppel broke their way through these and came up to the rescue, it was too late to save him. He was killed, with Mr. Steward, and of the seventeen men in his prahu only one lived to tell the tale. This was a fierce brush; both sides of the river were lined with natives throwing spears and stones, and blowing poisoned arrows from their sumpitans. The wounds made by the latter happily proved not dangerous owing to the skilful and rapid manner in which they were excised by the *Dido's* assistant-surgeon, Mr. Beith.

"The town of Karangan was next taken, and the river above that becoming difficult of ascent, the force slowly returned, and at Patusen, August 22nd, were met at night by Captain Sir Edward Belcher, who had followed them up with the English mail; his boats, favoured by a rapid tide, having come the 120 miles from the sea in about thirty hours.

The newly-arrived visitors were just comfortably settled in the *Phlegethon*, the night being pitch dark, and the rain pouring, when Brooke's quick ear caught the cry of natives in distress. "Jumping into his Singapore sampan he pushed off to their assistance, and returned shortly afterwards, having picked up three of our Dyak followers half drowned, whom he had found clinging to the floating trunk of a tree. They had been capsized by the bore, when, out of eleven composing the crew, only these were saved—although the Dyaks are invariably expert swimmers."

Back at the Linga junction Sheriff Jaffer was asked if he would like to come and have a talk, but declined, although he sent assurances of good-will; there was no proof, although some suspicion, that he was befriending the Sheriffs; and the expedition returned to Saráwak August 21st, where they were

received in triumph as before, and where every one in the force hoped to get a little rest after three weeks' hard work and exposure. But on the 27th at evening came the news that Sheriff Sahib was at Linga, and that Sheriff Jaffer was helping him. Early, therefore, on the following morning, the *Samarang's* and *Dido's* boats, with the *Phlegethon*, started again, and that night anchored in Linga River. The natives driven from the burnt towns were assembled in boats and on rafts in the Batang Lupar, making their way to the still flourishing town of Banting; and having, as they supposed, seen the last of the Europeans, their dismay was great when the morning light discovered the dreaded fire-ship and the fleet of boats; but they were soon at their ease, for kind words and provisions came instead of blows, and they were told that the war was with their chiefs and not with them. This soon becoming known, friendly advances were made, presents of goats, poultry, fruit, etc., brought, all of which were paid for, and information was freely obtained. Makota, the people said, was hourly expected; and ignorant of the return of the force the worthy pangĕran did arrive, was captured in a deep muddy jungle, and takĕn a prisoner to the *Phlegethon*. Then for two days the boats were dragged twenty miles up a small jungly creek almost impassable; and Sheriff Sahib, for years the dread of sea and land, fled away beyond reach. Returning to Banting, Sheriff Jaffer was again summoned to a conference, and this time his own people forced him to appear, having no mind to let his obstinacy prove the destruction of their town. Then Budrudeen came forward, and, as representative of his nephew the Sultan, declared him deprived of the government of the province.

Captain Keppel adds that "a second conference on shore took place, at which the chiefs of all the surrounding country attended, when the above sentence was confirmed. On this occasion I had the satisfaction of witnessing what must have been, from the effect I observed it to have produced on the hearers, a fine piece of oratory delivered by Mr. Brooke in the native tongue, with a degree of fluency I had never witnessed

before, even in a Malay. The purport of it, as I understood, was to point out emphatically the horrors of piracy on the one hand, which it was the determination of the British Government to suppress; and on the other hand, the blessings arising from peace and trade, which it was equally our wish to cultivate; and it concluded by fully explaining that the measures lately adopted by us against piracy were for the protection of all the peaceful communities along the coast."

In return the chiefs promised to help to put down piracy; and Brooke having touched their hearts, they one and all urged that they might be governed by an Englishman.

The effects of this second expedition are partly told in a letter from the Raja to Captain Keppel, dated Saráwak, November 20, 1844—

"All continues quiet, and Saráwak has increased by five thousand families of Malays since our departure, chiefly within the last month, however.

"I am struggling with 'the shakes,' my head is not clear nor my eyes, so you must manage to decipher as you can. Our society has been enlivened lately by a little German missionary, who, with all his religion, is transcendental and disputative; and we have some curious clatter of words on entity and nonentity, fate and free-will, and other topics, which are discussed without benefit and without end.

"Poor old 'Didos,' where will you all be by the time this reaches her captain? Scattered in every part of the globe! And where shall I find any to carry out your measures? Well, well! as you say, it is all for the best, and we will try to think so. That all tends to ultimate good I doubt not, but that the process is always pleasant is doubtful. I want to drive my coach faster; but there are such clogs on the wheels that it is impossible. I will not say much about Sakarran, because I have not yet been able to meet the Dyak chiefs. Sheriff Sahib is quiet and well-behaved, and the Dyaks are certainly prepared for submission; but you must bear in mind, and urge, that the very impetus you have given prevents our standing still; we must progress or retrograde."

CHAPTER XV.

1844, 1845.

After the Batang Lupar and Sarebus expedition, the chief event of 1844 was the return to Brunéof the Raja Muda Hassim, and his brothers. This was accomplished with much *éclat*, for Sir Edward Belcher took the whole party in the *Samarang*. Brooke went with them, to establish their authority still more, and through his influence, the Sultan, with their full consent, offered to make over the island of Labuan to England. He was very amiable, and apparently pleased at the return of his relations; while the poorer classes of the country, having heard of the peace and happiness of Saráwak, made no secret of their desire that Brooke should remain at Brunéand help Muda Hassim to govern them. The Raja meanwhile learned privately that Sir Robert Peel's Government seemed likely to allow the question of their interference in Borneo to be decided by the chances of a supply of coal, on which subject further inquiry would probably be made: and that regarding himself personally, they were guarded and reserved in expression. With reference to this he wrote to Mr. J. C. Templer:—

"*December* 31, 1844.—The Government is suspicious, and place very little confidence in me; they probably expect some job to be hidden beneath the surface of moderation! I am not surprised, for they have no particular reason to place confidence in me more than any other stranger; and, as for a job, they have doubtless too many presented to their notice under

specious pretences, not to expect one on every occasion. I shall convince them, however, either one way or another, that I do not seek to perpetrate any job; and I dare say, if we come to any communication, that time will gain me confidence. I am surprised, however, that they say they do not understand my intentions. Independently of my published letter, I thought they had intentions and wishes dunned into them. My intention, my wish, is to develop the island of Borneo. How to develop Borneo is not for me to say, but for them to judge. I have both by precept and example shown what can be done; but it is for the Government to judge what means, if any, they will place at my disposal. My intention, my wish, is to extirpate piracy by attacking and breaking up the pirate towns—not only pirates direct, but pirates indirect. Here, again, the Government must judge. I wish to correct the native character; to gain and hold an influence in Borneo Proper; to introduce gradually a better system of government; to open the interior; to encourage the poor natives; to remove the clogs on trade; to develop new sources of commerce. I wish to make Borneo a second Java! I intend to influence and amend the entire Archipelago, *if* the Government will afford me means and power. I wish to prevent any foreign nation from coming on the field; but I might as well war against France individually, as attempt all I wish without any means. Yet, i' faith, I am told my intentions are not known. I have been sincere enough; I have offered to serve without pay, though every labourer is worthy of his hire; and I offered to surrender Saráwak without remuneration, though I have laid out £10,000 in its development. The truth is, the Government do not know what to *do*; they are pottering about coal, and neglecting far greater objects. Coal there is—the country is a coal country; but when gentlemen are sent to make specific reports, it is not known that great difficulty exists in finding this coal, and that the search in a wild country will occupy months, or else the report will be imperfect. The general fact ought, combined with other objects, to decide this question; but to attain a

certainty on all points is impossible; for how can I enter the lists as an honest man, and swear that the results are certain? The results depend upon the means employed, and the wisdom with which those means are used; but how can any rational man proceed beyond a rational hope of success? Many do, or rather I ought to say, most do; and directly a plan is afoot, out fly glowing prospectuses, which deceive the public, and very often the authors. Most schemes, colonial and others, begin with a bubble more or less extensive, the evil consequence of which is felt long after. The beginning of our recent colonies has been in a forcing-house, whereas a quiet development by nature's means is overlooked, and yet it was by those means that America was peopled. I cannot go on scrawling on this subject, but surely my intentions have been known from the first; and if they be not trumpeted from Exeter Hall, or vamped up by a false prospectus, a board of directors, with an attendant train, and a succession of good dinners, they are not the less solid and feasible.

"It is easy for men to perform fine feats with the pen; it is easy for the rich man to give yearly thousands in charity; it is easy to preach against the slave trade, or to roar against piracy; it is easy to bustle about London, and get up associations for all kinds of objects—all this is easy; but it is not easy to stand alone, to be exiled, to lay out a small fortune, to expend life and health, to risk life itself, when the loss would be without glory and without fame; this is not easy: and if in making the comparison I feel and express some scorn, you will excuse me; and the comparison animates me for the future. God will judge us, and I am content.

"I am enabled to dispense happiness and peace to many thousand persons. I stand alone; I appeal for assistance, and gain none; I have struggled for four years, bearing my life in my hand. I hold a commanding position and influence over the natives; I feel it my paramount duty to gain protection and some power. I state it in so many plain words, and if, after all, I am left to my own resources, the fault of failure is not with me.

"This negotiation with Government is nearly at an end, or, if protracted—if I perceive any intention of delay or any coolness—I will myself break it off and trust to God and my own wits; for I will not have half-and-half backers, and I will not have the timidity of the Cabinet, or the dissensions of its members, extended to me. If they act cordially, they will either give me a plain negative, or some power to act, in order that I may carry out my views. If they haggle or bargain any further I will none of them; or if they bother me with their suspicions—(confidence is the soul of honesty)—or send any more gentlemen for the purposes of espionage, I will assert the independence I feel, and send them all to the devil! Here, dear Jack, you have a long letter, pretty fresh from the heart, somewhat indignant, and containing all my suspicions and surmises. After all, it may turn out better than I anticipate; but you must allow that delay is vexatious and injurious, and this great unknown, who is about to proceed to Saráwak, a great bore and inconvenience. One thing I will say, that if the Government requires a long time to make up its mind, and acts wisely, they ought, pending their decision, to send a man-of-war on the coast occasionally, or a steamer; and, though not granted to me, the captain might be instructed to listen to my advice. Otherwise the native mind is kept in a state of fluctuation and doubt, and our influence in Borneo risked. Gallant Keppel! If I had him and the 'Didos' I would ask no more! He has acted whilst others have been deciding. He has struck a blow at piracy, which has done more good than any number of ships have done in the Straits. He has knocked at the door of the pirates, and made them feel something of what they inflict, and this is the only way to deter the natives from piracy.

"I cannot write in too glowing terms of Saráwak. It is an important place, and now that Muda Hassim has been honourably transported to Borneo, and Sheriff Sahib and his piratical Dyaks driven with dishonour from the coast, the population has increased vastly; and there is a spirit and confidence which is pleasing to observe. I live quietly in my

new house, and daily transact business in office, where I dispense justice for four or five hours a day. Trade, too, prospers; you may judge what it might have become, when I inform you that yesterday four hundred dozen of white plates were sold, and to-day one hundred dozen more, and the demand above the supply. These very plates have been for a year unsold, because the natives would not, or dare not, come so close to the Raja Muda Hassim's residence. Three hundred pounds worth of English goods have been sold in three days, and it shows that peace and confidence have had their effect. The same may be said of the two evil tribes who since Keppel's attack upon them have been anxiously seeking a reconciliation. Sarebus has so far obtained it as to be allowed to trade, and Sakarran has promised to behave well, and the chiefs only wait until I can receive them. Here at once, had I means, I could readily open these two rivers, with their twenty or thirty thousand inhabitants, to free trade, which they have never before enjoyed; and through them I could encroach on the interior by slow and gentle means. I am confident I could effect this had I the means at my disposal! Can you not, then, make allowance for my gnashing my teeth, when I see this promised land, and see it to no purpose? I cannot but deplore the delay or caution which leaves me weak and powerless; for, after all, what is asked? As I said before, an occasional vessel would do; and there are steamers lying idle at Singapore.

"*January* 1, 1845.—Many many happy New Years, my friend, to you and yours; and as you gather round the fire, you will, I trust, cast a thought on the Borneo Raja and the English exile. I have a few days since received a large box from my sister, containing many melancholy memorials, which has made me think more of home, and cast a sadness over my mind. These memorials of the loved and departed have brought to mind the days of youth, when hope was bright: and reflection whispers that perhaps I have lived too little for the perfect cultivation of the affections. We are, however, the creatures of impulse and fortune, and could we

recall the past, it is most probable that what has occurred would recur again in living over again. I do not feel that I have much to reproach myself with towards my family, for we always have been a happy united family, and on looking back I cannot remember one serious misunderstanding that ever occurred amongst us. I cannot recall harsh words, angry looks, or unkind actions; and I, the most wayward in disposition of them all, was not inferior to them in affection. This has been a great blessing, and I thank God for it, and in looking back to the past, in gazing on the likenesses of the lost, in reflecting on their virtues, I am sad and melancholy, but it is sadness unmixed with pain. Faults I have enough, but I have rarely sinned in affection. This is a melancholy theme for a new year, so I shall not continue it, but leave my letter till to-morrow, when some new current of thought will drive across my mind which you will have the full benefit of to the extent of another half-sheet. I cannot begin 1845 without asking you, have you read the ode to *the* '45? The century is complete, and I pulled out my Collins the first thing in the morning to read 'How sleep the brave.'

"*January* 2, 1845.—Keppel you must know, and I dare say he will call at Greenwich when he has leisure after his arrival. He has carried home my Journals, and I have given him full permission to use them, crude and uncorrected as they be, for I really have little desire for literary distinction, which is scarce worth the trouble it costs; and the information which is new may be promulgated without trouble to me. Had it not been for the interest he took in the subject, and the praise he gave to the Journal after reading it, these books would have been found in my drawer after my death."

This letter was shown by Mr. Templer to the Earl of Haddington, First Lord of the Admiralty—and was also read by Sir Robert Peel.

The Journal entry of January 13th runs—"The Government seem to require a demonstration upon every problem proposed, a caution which may in itself be praiseworthy; but the question is a simple and bold one, and the problem can

only be demonstrated after the result. 'Here is a noble island, rich in produce; you have acquired influence, and may acquire more; will you undertake the enterprise of developing its resources?' The answer is, 'What shall we get?' 'You must be content to know its resources, and what you will get must depend on your own conduct and management.' 'What will it cost?' 'The cost depends on yourselves, or on the scale on which you act. A man-of-war will do; a man-of-war and steamer better; and two or three thousand a year in addition better still. The vessels of war cannot be said to be any extra cost, and they will be acting strictly in conformity with the general object of men-of-war: they will be repressing piracy and forwarding geographical knowledge.' 'Spite of all this, you must demonstrate to us the ultimate advantage.' 'I must again reply that the demonstration is yet in the bosom of time: no human event liable to a thousand contingencies is demonstrable. The fairest prospects may be marred by an accident, by opposition, or by bad conduct of agents.' 'Have you positively ascertained the mineral riches of the country?' 'Again I reply, that the riches of the country are ascertained, mineral and vegetable; the influence to be acquired by conduct, with small means, has been proved: what would you have more?' 'We must know whether this coal about Borneo is workable?' 'Excuse me, gentlemen,' I say, 'do not the general views which I have stated include coal and other minerals? All examination hitherto has proved the coal to be of excellent quality.'

"I have acted, however, on the general adage, 'Hope for the best, but prepare for the worst.' If left to my own resources I must become the Chief of the Dyaks, and by my influence prevent mischief on a large scale. A gun boat, twelve good boats with 6-pounders and musketry, with two hundred Dyak prahus, will be a formidable force against Borneo itself, and this force may be needed if Muda Hassim is beaten there.

"It requires a man of enlarged mind to confide in the

generosity and disinterestedness of his fellow mortals, and perhaps the very habits and experience of a Minister precludes this confidence, unless he has a *very* enlarged mind. And if a man, Minister or other, can read a character right, and trust it when read, he would have better service from one so trusted than from ten half-paid, half-suspected officials. Self-esteem whispers that it is strange that some Minister has not read my character so far only as to know that confidence alone will bind me; for I would much rather live in poverty, thrice deeply steeped, retired and neglected, than become an official machine to work in a mill without zeal and without interest. I have been independent all my life, and had my own way the greater part of it—never having thought of earthly mortal's smile or favour. I have never mixed with the great, to be exalted or depressed by them. I value this kind of independence, and shall preserve it: and it is doubtful whether I could now shape myself to forms and observances without self-inflicting much real and substantial suffering. Should Ministers therefore negative my wishes, as may probably be the case, or should I break up our negotiation—as I am half disposed to do—it will be a comfort to me, in any or all changes of fortune, to continue as independent as I now am. If I had private means, I would scarcely yield my position so easily and at so cheap a rate, for I am fully sensible of the fame of the man who should open a path through Borneo for the civilization of Europe to enter by. Patience! patience!"

In this January some of the pirate chiefs visited Saráwak —a proof beyond question of their trust in the Raja's faith; and a conference was held, at which mortal enemies met and kept the peace.

From Sarebus came a noted Dyak chief, named Lingire, at first a little shy and suspicious, but soon at his ease. "He is an intelligent man (wrote the Raja), and I hail with pleasure his advent to Saráwak, as a dawn of a friendship with the two pirate tribes. It is not alone for the benefit of these tribes that I desire to cultivate their friendship, but for

the greater object of penetrating the interior through their means. There are no Malays there to impede our progress by their lies and intrigues; and, God willing, these rivers shall be the great arteries by which civilization shall be circulated to the heart of Borneo."

This want of truthfulness and tendency to intrigue appears to possess the Malay races everywhere, but in other respects Brooke was not long in discovering that the interior tribes were very superior to those on the seaboard.

"Simple in their habits," he writes of these inland people, "they are neither treacherous nor blood-thirsty. Cheerful, polite, hospitable, gentle in their manners, they live in communities with fewer crimes and fewer punishments than most other people of the globe. They are passionately fond of their children, indulgent even to a fault, and the ties of family relationship and good feeling continue in force for several generations. The feeling of the Malay, fostered by education, is acute, and his passions are roused if shame be put upon him; indeed, this dread of shame amounts to a disease; and the evil is that it has taken a wrong direction, being more the dread of exposure or abuse than shame or contrition for any offence. Like other Asiatics, truth is a rare quality amongst them—and they have neither principle nor conscience when they have the means of oppressing an infidel, or a Dyak who is their inferior in civilization and intellect."

This intense pride seemed to the Raja to account for acts, that, together with the long-rooted habit of piracy, have made the name of a Malay synonymous for a treacherous cut-throat. "They are gentlemen," he would say of the pirates, "and should be cut down in fair fight, and not bound like felons and tried by forms of law which they can neither understand nor appreciate."

To return to Lingire. He was presented with a spear and a flag, and made the bearer of a letter to his brother chiefs of Sarebus. The Rev. A. Horsburgh, who was for some years a missionary in Saráwak, relates an anecdote of another visit paid by Lingire to Kuching:—

The old pirate, becoming from some reason or other displeased with the Raja, determined to attack him. "He came to Saráwak with several war-boats, ostensibly to pay a visit to the Malay Datus, or magistrates, of that place, and moored his boats in the river opposite their campongs, a few hundred yards above Raja Brooke's house. One night, when the tide suited his purpose, he dropped silently down the river to the Raja's wharf, fastened his boats there, and landed with eighty armed men. He then walked up to the house, entered the hall where the Raja was seated at dinner entertaining all the European inhabitants of the settlement, and his men, placing themselves in a semi-circle round the table, squatted down, intending to spring upon their victims in the confusion of clearing away the dinner. As soon as Mr. Brooke saw Lingire enter with so many men, he suspected his object, and calling a Malay servant, who fortunately understood English, he ordered him to cross the river and tell the Datus to bring over their men as quickly as possible. This being spoken in English was not understood by the Dyaks, who thinking that the Raja had merely given some order about the dinner, saw the servant leave the room without suspicion, and sat still, quietly and intently surveying the scene before them, and waiting the signal of attack from their chief. In the meantime the Europeans continued their dinner with the best appetite they could. From the painful state of suspense in which they were held they were at length delivered by the arrival of the Datu Tumangong—a brave old pirate who, in his day, has carried on his depredations within sight of Singapore—who entered the room at the head of thirty Malays. He at once placed himself between the Europeans and Dyaks, and, turning upon Lingire, he applied to him many epithets the reverse of complimentary, told him that he knew what he had come for, and ordered him instantly to go down to his boats. The Dyak paused; the odds were eighty to thirty, and he seemed inclined to try the chances of a combat; but while he hesitated, the Datu Bandar entered with fifty men, and he then slunk off to his boats like a beaten dog. When he

arrived at Sarebus, he gave it out publicly that his object was to have taken the Raja's head, and he further expressed his determination still to have it; nay, he even went so far as to make a basket for the special purpose of containing it after it should be captured. He now appears, however, to have thought better of the matter; for when I saw him last he was seated at the Raja's table, talking and laughing and drinking arrack."

When yet another time Lingire honoured Government House with his company at dinner, Mr. Charles Johnson was requested by his elder brother, then ruling the country for their uncle, to place himself next to the pirate, and to sit upon his revolver, that unseen it might be at hand if required.

But all this has long gone by. "Piracy is unknown upon our coast," says the *Saráwak Gazette*, of February, 1875; and Lingire, grown rich in lawful trade, rendered possible by the Government that he would once have destroyed, has become a very conservative and very respectable member of society.

That complex machinery known as the British Government had not been so dilatory as Brooke imagined, for in February, H.M.S. *Driver*, commanded by Captain Bethune, arrived, bringing him a temporary appointment from the Foreign Secretary, Lord Aberdeen, as Confidential Agent in Borneo for the Queen, together with instructions to proceed to Bruné with a letter addressed to Muda Hassim and the Sultan, in reply to theirs on the subject of piracy. He went, therefore, to Bruné in the *Driver;* and there arrived, the Queen's letter, promising aid in the suppression of piracy, was delivered in State; when the Sultan stared, but Muda Hassim made courteous answer, "We are greatly indebted; it is good, very good." The warm welcome he received from Budrudeen, Muda Hassim, and the party of order, was very pleasant to him; all was going on well, and Pangeran Usop quiet. One trouble, however, they confided to their friend. A powerful chief named Sheriff Osman, accustomed habitually to live by plunder, was enraged beyond measure that Bruné should turn over a new leaf, and make an alliance with England. He dared the

British ships to do their worst; and, whether these attacked him or not, vowed Brunė should suffer for calling in foreign aid. With the evil-minded Usop at home, and the angry Osman abroad, in league together, would the great English Queen, they asked, if it came to a struggle, be sure to defend those who strove to act rightly?

Brooke was sore at heart that he could only give hope, and not certainty. What England might do, and how she might do it, is told in his Journal.

"*March* 4, 1845.—In order to extend our commerce in these seas generally, and more particularly on the North West Coast of Borneo, it is requisite, first, that piracy be suppressed; secondly, that the native Governments be settled, so as to afford protection to the poorer and producing classes; and thirdly, that our knowledge of the interior should be extended, and our intercourse with the various tribes more frequent.

"In the first place a blow should be struck at the piratical communities with which we are already acquainted, and struck with a force which should convince all other pirates of the hopelessness of resistance; subsequently the recognized Malay Governments may be detached from all communication with pirates; and, joining conciliation with punishment, laying down the broad distinction of piracy or no piracy, we may foster those who abandon their evil habits, and punish those who adhere to them.

"A system of supervision will, however, be necessary to carry out these measures: our knowledge of the native states must be improved; and, as we become able to discriminate between the good and the bad, our sphere of action may be enlarged, and we may act with decision against all descriptions of pirates—against the receiver of stolen goods as well as the thief, and against the promoter as well as the actual perpetrator of piracy.

"Practically, acting on the broad principle that the seizure of any lawful trader on the high seas constitutes piracy, I consider no injustice could be done to the native states, and no interference occur with their acknowledged rights; for in

practice it would be easy to discriminate a war between native nations from the piracies of lawless hordes of men, and without some such general principle no executive officer could act with the requisite decision and promptitude.

"With a post such as it is proposed to establish, our measures for the suppression of piracy would advance step by step as our knowledge increased, and with alternate conciliation and severity, as the case might require. By detaching the recognized Governments from the practice, and gradually forming amongst the chief men a friendly and English party opposed to piracy, we should, I doubt not, speedily obtain our principal object of clearing the sea of marauders, and ultimately correct the natural propensity of the natives for piracy.

"Supposing Labuan to be taken as a naval post, I consider that European capital might with safety be employed in Bruné. In the rivers contiguous to Saráwak the presence of Europeans would be hailed with joy, not only by the Dyaks but by the Malays; and subsequently it would depend on their own conduct to what degree they retained the good-will of the natives; but, with ordinary conciliation, and a decent moral restraint on their actions, I feel assured that their persons and property would be safe, and no obstruction offered to fair trade or to mining operations. Occupying Labuan, our influence over the Government of Bruné would be complete, and one of our principal objects would be to maintain this ascendency as a means of extending our trade.

"Our position at Labuan would, it must be borne in mind, differ from the position we occupied in relation to the native princes in Singapore. In the latter case, the native princes were without means, without followers, and with a paltry and useless territory, and became our pensioners. In the case of Labuan we shall have an acknowledged independent state in our vicinity, and for the prosperity of our settlement we must retain our ascendency by the support of the Government of Muda Hassim. Let our influence be of the mildest kind; let us, by supporting the legitimate Government, ameliorate the condition of the people by this influence. Let us pay

every honour to the native princes; let us convince them of our entire freedom from all selfish views of territorial aggrandizement; and we shall enjoy so entire a confidence that virtually the coast will become our own without the trouble or expense of possession.

"I have impressed it on the Raja Muda Hassim, and Pangeran Budrudeen, that the readiest and most direct way of obtaining revenues from their various possessions will be by commuting all their demands for a stated yearly sum from each; and by this direct taxation, to which Muda Hassim and his brother seem ready to accede, the system of fraud and exaction would be abolished, the native mind tranquilized and the legitimate Government would become the protector rather than the oppressor of its dependencies. By this measure, likewise, a tone might be imparted to the chiefs and rulers of rivers, and the people at large taught to feel that after the payment of a specified sum, a right existed to resist all extra demands. Besides this, the Rajas are convinced that a certain yearly revenue is what they require, and is the only means by which they can retain their independence; and I have impressed it on their minds that to gain a revenue they must foster trade and protect Europeans in their dealings.

"Since the advent of Europeans in the Archipelago, the tendency of the Polynesian Governments generally has been to decay; here the experiment may be fairly tried on the smallest scale of expense—whether a beneficial European influence may not re-animate a falling State, and at the same time extend our own commerce. We are here devoid of the stimulus which urged us on to conquest in India. We incur no risk of the collision of the two races; we occupy a small station in the vicinity of a friendly and unwarlike people; and we aim at the development of native countries through native agency.

"If this tendency to decay and extinction be inevitable—if this adaptation of European policy to a native State be found unable to arrest the fall of the Borneon Government—yet we

shall retain a people already habituated to European manners, industrious interior races, and at a future period, if deemed necessary, settlements gradually developed in a rich and fertile country. We shall have a post in time of war highly advantageous, as commanding a favourable position relative to China; we shall extend our commerce, suppress piracy, and prevent the present and prospective advantages from falling into other hands; and we shall do this at a small expense.

"I own that this development of the natives through their own exertions is *a hobby of mine*. If it succeed it would be nobly done—a pure spot in the troubled ocean of colonial politics; but if it fail, and fail it may, we shall have little to reproach ourselves with, for it may truly be affirmed that under no circumstances could the condition of the north-west coast be worse than it was four years ago.

"I have not alluded to any other countries of the Archipelago, for we must first become acquainted with them: we must become intimate, cultivate an English party, and accustom them to our manners; and probably the same conciliatory policy, the same freedom from design, which has succeeded in Borneo, will succeed elsewhere if pushed with temper and patience.

"The general principle ought to be—to encourage established Governments, such as those of Borneo and Sulu, provided they will, with all sincerity, abandon piracy and assist in its suppression; but, at the same time, by supervision to convince ourselves of the fact, and keep them in the right path; for all treaties with these native States—and we have had several—are but so much waste paper unless we see them carried into execution.

"Our intercourse with the natives of the interior should be frequent and intimate. These people are represented as numerous, hospitable, and industrious; and a friendly intercourse would develop the resources of the interior, draw its produce to our markets, gradually tend to the enlightenment of the wild tribes, and check their propensity for war. This

intercourse, however, must be carefully and prudently introduced, and gradually advanced, until those wild tribes are conversant, in some degree, with European manners and habits; for to bring them suddenly into contact with the ordinary run of ignorant and violent Europeans, would produce bloodshed in a month.

"Nothing is more difficult, nothing requires more temper, more prudence, or more patience, than establishing and maintaining a good understanding between *ignorant civilized men and ignorant savages*. In the case of Borneo, however, it is by no means necessary that these two classes should, for a long time to come, be in contact, as they are in New Zealand. There is little danger that the natives will wither before the approach of the white man. Here we want not their land but their produce; and we desire to become the benefactors by ever so slow and gradual means. Surely it is possible that the Europeans can for once benefit the natives; surely it is possible that a limited intercourse may be mutually advantageous."

In May, Raja Brooke was again at Bruné, having in the interval gone to Singapore to consult with Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane. His new appointment was some help to him. "I, even I, am moderately happy," he wrote to Mr. Templer; "and being a confidential agent to Government I have become a great man in the realm of Singapore, and this certainly adds to my happiness—not from vanity, but enabling me to get a thousand things done which I could not effect before."

On his return, he found Muda Hassim and Budrudeen despondent and perplexed. An American frigate had arrived, and offered immediate protection, with a treaty of friendship and commerce, if the coal were ceded to the United States Government. The Sultan and Pangeran Usop were for accepting, but the two brothers had kept true to Brooke and the English. Still it was very hard, for in their weakness a bird in the hand was worth any number in the bush; and the English ships came and went, and nobody ever knew if they

would come again. It was too true, and Brooke listened and chafed at his powerlessness. It was right for the British Government to be cautious; but meanwhile mischief was brewing, and it might become too late for action. Just one vessel would keep things straight till some decision could be arrived at.

With a mind full of these thoughts he wrote to Mr. Templer, May 22, 1845:—

"I am sorry to tell you that affairs in Brunĕ are by no means progressing so well as I could have wished, and that it is to be attributed to our total inability, for want of power and orders, to act. It is now two years since Sir Edward Belcher received from them their first agreement, and since then they have been fed upon promises, whilst we have come and returned with one story, 'Wait, wait.' Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the bad faction, headed by Pangeran Usop, are making head, and our good friends are drooping from want of support, and suspecting our will or our ability to assist them. Muda Hassim and Budrudeen are threatened from without by Sheriff Osman, the pirate chief, *because* they have declared for the suppression of piracy. Within, Pangeran Usop conspires against their power—the Sultan is doubtful—and the mass of the people on both sides lukewarm and confused. The position in which they are now placed is entirely our doing; and if the sacrifice be complete, or the town convulsed by civil war, it can only be attributed to our slowness and inaction, for I would answer with my life to control the wrong, and defend the right, with thirty well-armed Europeans. How can negotiations be protracted without injury to the weaker party? Why cannot the Government trust somebody—anybody with sufficient powers to protect and conciliate, whilst negotiations are pending? Any such power conferred on myself, or any Government officer, need not surely commit beyond the mere fact of temporary protection! I would take care that protection was not wanting when the Government withdrew—if they do withdraw; but now my hands are tied, and I am reluctant to

act on my own account whilst holding a Government situation, unless in the last extremity.

"You must know that since we last left this place for Singapore, the American frigate *Constitution* has been here to offer immediate protection, and a treaty of friendship and commerce, on the ground of the coal being ceded to them, and the right of exclusive trade granted. It is probable, that from the badness of their interpreter (who was formerly my drunken servant), the demand for exclusive trade has been erroneously understood; but, independently of this, had the American officers remained here longer, and been better versed in native politics, there can be no doubt that both the Sultan and Pangeran Usop would have formed this alliance, or become sufficiently intimate to gain them to their party, merely out of spite to Muda Hassim and Budrudeen.

"Even now they twit our party with the Americans doing at once what the English cannot do; they are blamed for repulsing the Americans, and for preferring our friendship. This is a state of affairs, which, should Monsieur Legrene, the French plenipotentiary, visit Brunè, will lay the ball at his feet, and it is too likely he will kick it.

"I assure you when I reflect on the little that is needful, and feel how completely I am tied, hand and foot, it makes me ill; it affects my body and my mind.

"By what I have said you must not fancy that Muda Hassim and his party are weak at the present moment: on the contrary, they can still rule, but probably at the expense of a civil war, which we could prevent, but which they cannot. To refer home is useless, for events progress much faster than our counsels, and even acting on my own resources requires time which is not to be spared. I again repeat, however, that some discretionary power must be given somewhere, and some physical power displayed, pending these negotiations, or else we shall be open to the slur of having tempted these right-minded and faithful Rajas to their fall. The Americans would act first and inquire afterwards, and they are right: we are endeavouring to make inquiries, which we cannot

fairly arrive at under the circumstances, and like the boy in the story who hid his plum cake, the rats will eat it up whilst we deem it most safe.

"This is our present condition, and we are running a risk which we need not to have run. If a person can act, he at any rate is doing his best—however little; but to be incessantly on the brink of action, and unable to act—to see power near, and not be able to exert it—to have all measures distorted amongst half a dozen heads—to be incapable of direct action when action is required—is very, very hard. One good blow straight from the shoulder is worth half a dozen roundabout fillips. Mind, I do not mean to blame men, but circumstances."

A paper of practical suggestions for the better government of the country was drawn up at this time, for the guidance of Budrudeen; and then came another run to Singapore, for writing was useless where post there was none, and the only chance of obtaining help was to go in person. While at Singapore he wrote, July 4, to his uncle Major Stuart:—

"I am not very sanguine about success; and every step is made at so great a sacrifice of time, that unlooked-for events occur whilst we are beating round the bush. We are not using the means to insure success. Inquiry, joined with protection, would have insured our object; but men are sent out to inquire as though they were in a district in England. The native jealousy is worked on, the piratical chiefs gain confidence and make head by our slowness, our own party is disturbed and weakened; and all this goes on whilst Captain Bethune is taking angles, and Mr. Williams picking up bits of sandstone. The truth is—the Government has no confidence either in myself, or in the officer they have sent, and will not bestow any discretionary power, merely from a foolish and weak dread of being committed. No definite instructions are given to the Admiral on the station; and matters are left to go on, just as the chance of events may direct, only with the drawback, that having conferred on me a nominal appointment, they have deprived me of the freedom of direct and

speedy action, which heretofore has been an element of my success. At the present moment, Muda Hassim, an amiable and friendly prince, who has been two years bound by an agreement with her Majesty's Government for the suppression of piracy, is endangered by the pirates. His intercourse with Government has brought his life and his government in peril. A friendly prince, in communication with Government—the partisan of the English—the nucleus of civilization—the very best instrument for the extension of commerce (such an instrument is rarely to be met with, and which we ought to have in New Zealand)—is thrown away, lost, from death or disgust, because no one has the power or the will to assist him. Be it remembered, likewise, that Muda Hassim was reinstated in his Government in Bruné by Sir Edward Belcher a year since. Could anything be more shocking than the sacrifice of this prince under the circumstances in which he is placed? Of course, I never will permit Muda Hassim to fall if time can only be gained. I am now waiting here for the Admiral, Sir Thomas Cochrane, in the hope of inducing him to attack Sheriff Osman—the piratical fleet of Malludu; and to give the protection of a sloop-of-war to Bruné, pending the decision of Government. If this fail, and a crisis approaches, I propose supporting Bruné from Saráwak; and in six weeks I can bring a force of 150 war-boats into the field, which is enough, with a few Europeans, to carry Bruné. This force I would, however, rather not use. I hope for the best, and that the Admiral will save me the necessity of taking the step. I trust likewise that the Government will in time acquire that confidence which they now want; for unless Government places confidence in the integrity and ability of its servants it is impossible it should be well served.

"I do not know whether I should make a European diplomatist. Probably my slight acquaintance with society, and the irksomeness of its usages, would be a great drawback; but I should have some confidence in dealing with Asiatics; and I dare say I should do as well as a wiser and more staid person in negotiating with Siam, or in fighting first and conciliating in New Zealand.

"*July 6th.*—It is difficult to do good with such obstacles as I have in the way, and my position is worse than ever—a sort of Mahomet's coffin—during the progress of these inquiries. The Government, it is sincerely to be hoped, will either do something or retire. A man who can act and will act is doing his best, however poor that best may be; but to be hanging between heaven and earth, or, more strictly speaking, starving between two bundles of hay, is a most donkey-like lot. Well, well! we will hope, though hope delayed maketh the heart sick; and there is a small cloud in the West which may burst on poor Borneo as well as England.

"Bethune and I start to-morrow morning at daybreak to join the Admiral at Malacca. The summons only reached us this morning: and as he has nine sail of vessels with him, I hope he will take the coast of Borneo on his return to China."

CHAPTER XVI.

1845, 1846.

(Journal.) "*August* 8, 1845.—Off Ujong Sapo, at the entrance of Borneo River. I have been at Singapore and Malacca, and am now anchored with seven vessels, and an eighth is hourly expected. Our friends of course are delighted. Sir Thomas Cochrane is inclined to act, and considers the circumstance of Usop's detaining two British subjects after the agreement entered into with Sir Edward Belcher, as sufficient warrant for punishing that gentleman. I think so too, but then comes the difficulty of doing it effectually, and in such a way as not to involve others for his crimes. This is not easy, because the Admiral can stay but a few days, and, though he has power to destroy, he cannot advance the general good and the general policy without pacifying and encouraging as well as destroying. To seize Usop is difficult; to frighten him away very easy: but when we have retired the demon returns with other demons. The snake is scotched but not destroyed. It is not easy with such a force to be moderate, and with Sir Thomas Cochrane's other duties and engagements, it is probably impossible for him to devote any length of time to this coast; yet moderation and time are the keystone of our policy; and if Malludu be destroyed, and a brig left here to support our friends and to drive Usop away, should he attempt to return, we could afford to be moderate and not to spill blood. I feel myself very reluctant to accede to any propositions which aim at Usop's death, and I will try to save

him in the coming events, unless I be thoroughly satisfied that his living endangers the life of Budrudeen.

"I have settled all the ceremonial for a meeting between the Sultan and the Admiral. Sir Thomas seems inclined to severe measures; but he is so reasonable and willing to listen that I hope for the best. If the meeting to-morrow with the Sultan be judiciously and skilfully conducted, no doubt all will be well. The Pangeran Budrudeen came on board H.M.S. *Agincourt* with every circumstance of state and ceremony, and met the admiral, I acting as interpreter. It was pleasing to witness his demeanour and bearing, which proved that in minds of a certain quality the power of command, though over savages, gives ease and freedom. The ship, the band, the marines, the guns, all excited Budrudeen's attention.

"*August 9th.*—The Interview. The three steamers and a large body of seamen and marines proceeded up the river to the city, on approaching which Muda Hassim met the Admiral, and entered his barge. The Sultan received him on the shore. The three chiefs advanced to the Hall of Audience, where, seated on the dais, the Admiral being in the centre, they proceeded to the business of the day. Compliments were passed and fine speeches made on both sides, the Admiral assuring the Sultan that he had come to offer him every assistance to suppress his piratical enemies without, and to punish any turbulent men who in Brunê troubled his government. The Sultan was much obliged, looked pallid and trembling. Then came the crush of the band, the rattling of the marines' arms, the rise, the embrace, the descent, and the return to the *Pluto*. What touched my heart at the close of the audience was Pangeran Usop seizing my hand from behind. Poor devil, I pity him! but measures must advance, and he has deserved his fate, whatever it may be.

"In the course of the day, after the audience had terminated, the Admiral made his demand of reparation on the Sultan and Muda Hássim for the detention and confinement of two British subjects subsequent to their agreement with the

British Government. The Sultan and the Raja replied that they were not in fault, that the act was Pangeran Usop's, and that he was too powerful for them to control by force. If Sir Thomas Cochrane would punish him, they should be much obliged, as they desired to keep the treaty inviolate.

"10*th*.—Pangeran Usop had to be summoned. Come he would not; and yet I was in hopes that when he saw the overwhelming force opposed to him his pride would yield to necessity. About 2 p.m. the steamers took up their positions, the marines were landed, everything was prepared —yet no symptom of obedience. At length a single shot was fired from the *Vixen* by the Admiral's order through the roof of Usop's house, which was instantly returned, thus proving the folly and the temper of the man. In a few minutes his house was tenantless, having been overwhelmed with shot. Usop was a fugitive, the amount of mischief done inconsiderable, and no damage except to the guilty party. Twenty captured guns the Admiral presented to the Sultan and the Raja; two he kept from which to remunerate the two detained men.

"12*th*.—This morning I visited the Sultan in company with Muda Hassim, and tried to soothe his mind, and at the same time to show him that his best and only course is to hold his treaty with us, and to work with Muda Hassim and Budrudeen. He is, however, such an imbecile it is impossible to make more than a momentary impression upon him. My apprehensions for the state of Borneo on the Admiral's departure were eased by Budrudeen telling me that Usop had already been endeavouring to open negotiations with him. I advised strongly that they should attempt a sincere reconciliation with him, or at any rate patch up a truce. It is the only course for us to follow; but again and again I deplore that the protection of a brig is not or cannot be given."

From Brunéthe British squadron proceeded along the coast, and rounding Simpan-mangio, the most northernly point of Borneo, anchored (August 18th) in Malludu Bay.

Into the bay runs Malludu River, up which was the stronghold of the pirate chief Sheriff Osman. The attack is narrated in letters to Mrs. Johnson and Mr. Templer, as well as in the Journal.

"The channel was shallow, the river narrow. The defences consisted of a large fort on the left bank ascending, mounting eight heavy iron guns; a smaller fort, on a tongue of land facing down the river, with three heavy pieces, besides brass guns; and a floating battery. These defences were protected by a double boom thrown across the river, formed of enormous trees, bolted together by large iron plates on the lower part, and bound round and round by the iron cable of a vessel of considerable size, the ends of which were secured on each bank by numerous turns round many stumps of trees. It was as formidable and ingeniously contrived a boom as ever savage put together.

"The attacking party consisted of 24 boats, ten being gun-boats, and, including marines, a force of 550 men. I did not go myself, the Admiral not inviting me; but my nephew Charley, of the *Wolverine*, was of the party. On the morning of the 19th the boats arrived near the boom, and were met by a flag of truce. Sheriff Osman desired to see me; it being explained that Captain Talbot was the commanding officer, he wished to see him. In what manner? Captain Talbot invited the Sheriff to the other side of the boom. No; the Sheriff would be happy to see Captain Talbot at the fort. Certainly, if the boom was opened to allow the boats to pass. No; the Sheriff would allow Captain Talbot and a few of the leaders to come over the boom in two small boats. As we heard in Bruné that this proposition was to be made, and trickery resorted to, of course the kind offer was declined, which, under any circumstances, would not have been accepted.

"The first gun was fired by the enemy. Fifty minutes under fire, the boom resisted every effort to force it, but at the end of that time an opening was made, and Malludu ceased to exist.

"I was on board the *Vixen* with Sir Thomas Cochrane, where we heard every gun distinctly, and most horribly distinct they sounded to me, for I was thinking of Charley more even than of the fate of the action. My anxiety was not relieved even by their success, which we knew from the dark wreaths of smoke from the burning houses; but in the evening the boats returned, and there sat Master Charley safe and sound. His poor friend and messmate, John Harvey's cousin, the gallant Gibbard, was mortally wounded, and expired two days after. Our loss in all was six killed, two or three mortally wounded, and twelve or thirteen wounded, most of them severely. The Sheriff and his followers had made themselves up to fight, and nothing but *fight*. Many chiefs were killed, two or three Sheriffs in their large turbans and flowing robes, many Illanuns in their gay dresses and golden charms, many Badjows, many slaves—amongst them a captive Chinaman.

"*20th.*—On the evening of the 19th, a detachment of ten boats, with fresh men and officers, quitted the *Vixen*, and arrived at the forts shortly after daylight. I accompanied this party, and the work of destruction was completed. Numerous proofs of piracy came to light. The boom was ingeniously fastened with the chain cable of a vessel of three or four hundred tons; other chains were found in the town, a ship's long boat, two ship's bells—one ornamented with grapes and vine leaves, and marked 'Wilhelm Ludwig, Bremen,' and every other description of ship's furniture. Some half-piratical boats, Illanuns and Balanini, were burned; 24 or 25 brass guns captured; the iron guns, likewise stated to have been got out of a ship, were spiked and otherwise destroyed.

"Amid this scene of war and devastation was one episode which moved even harder hearts than mine. Twenty-four hours after the action, a poor woman, with her child of two years of age, was discovered in a small canoe; her arm was shattered at the elbow by a grape-shot, and the poor creature lay dying for want of water in an agony of pain, with her child playing around her, and endeavouring to derive the sustenance which

the mother could no longer give. This poor woman was taken on board the *Vixen*, and in the evening her arm was amputated. To have left her would have been certain death, so I was strongly for taking her to Saráwak, where she can be protected. To all my inquiries she answered, 'If you please to take me I shall go. I am a woman, and not a man; I am a slave, and not a free woman. Do as you like.' She stated positively that she herself had seen Sheriff Osman wounded in the neck and carried off, and her testimony is corroborated by two Manilla men who, amongst others, ran away and sought protection from us.

"The remnant of the enemy retired to Bungun, and it will be some time before we learn their real loss and position. It is needless here to say anything on the political effects to be expected from the establishment of a government in Brunė and the destruction of this worst of piratical communities. When I return to Brunė, and see how measures advance, I may mention the subject again; but I will venture here to re-urge that mere military force, however necessary, cannot do what is desirable should be done. Supervision and conciliation must go hand in hand with punishment, and we must watch that the snake does not again rear his head through our neglect. The key-stone is wanting as yet, and must be supplied if possible; we must, to back the gallant deeds of the Admiral and fleet, continue to pursue a steady course of measures."

Leaving the fleet after this, the Raja returned to Saráwak in H.M.S. *Cruiser*, and looking in at Brunė on his way, in order to tell Muda Hassim and his brother the good news of Sheriff Osman's defeat and probable death, he found that they also had a tale for him. On the departure of the British squadron, Usop, plucking up his courage, returned and attacked the town, but Budrudeen had defeated him, and saved the place triumphantly, driving Usop to the sea, whither he was preparing to follow him. During the fight H.M.S. *Espiegle* had arrived, and might have assisted, but as none on board understood Malay and none on shore English,

it was impossible to explain to her captain the position of affairs, and he went on his way as wise as he came.

Budrudeen was the hero of the hour, and Raja Brooke with the keenest pleasure listened to his praises.

"Never," exclaimed the Brunions, "was such a war in Brunė! Pangeran Budrudeen fights like a European; the very spirit of the Englishman is in him; he has learned this in Saráwak!"

"Budrudeen's vigour," wrote Brooke, "has given a stimulus to this unwarlike people, and he has gained so great a character—victory sits so lightly on his plume—that his authority will now be obeyed; whilst Usop, in consequence of his cowardly flight—for so they deem it—from the want of energy he has displayed, has lost character as well as wealth. Unluckily for himself, he was a great boaster in the days of his prosperity; and now the contrast is drawn with a sneer. 'His mouth was brave,' they exclaim, 'but his heart was timid! He should have died as other great men have died, and not have received such shame; he should have a-moked, or else given himself up for execution!'

An equal cause of satisfaction was the forbearance and generosity that had followed Budrudeen's victory. "Usop's women and children, his gold and his property of every description, fell into the hands of the victor, and Alexander did not treat the family of Darius with more generosity. The women were distributed amongst their nearest relatives, and the gold and other property divided amongst them. Usop alone was the public enemy; and even the Kadiěns who supported him were not punished. Great advantage accrued from this moderation; the Brunė people to a man adhere to the legitimate authority, and the Kadiěns have everywhere submitted and asked pardon. Thus our side is predominant in Brunė.

"We were feasted and fêted during our short stay; former long faces were wreathed with smiles, and doubt and anxiety have given way to security and power. This is the more gratifying to me, as being Budrudeen's work, and as it relieves

me of the anxiety which I before felt about Bruné. I wished the Admiral much to give us a vessel, to look after the coast pending negotiations, but he would not do more than promise an occasional one. Now that will do. We are, I believe, secure, and at the top of the tree; but we ought not to be too secure, and even now I wish a brig was hovering between Saráwak and Bruné."

In the Journal this wish is repeated—

"*August* 31*st*.—My mind is now at rest about the fate of my friends; but I still consider a man-of-war brig, making her appearance here every month or two, of great importance —for it will be necessary for the next six months to consolidate the power of Muda Hassim and Budrudeen; and if, with the new order of things, the people constantly see white faces, and find that they are quiet and inoffensive, that ignorant terror which now prevails will gradually vanish away."

The only drawback in Budrudeen's story arose from the conduct of the Sultan, who, constituting himself guardian of Usop's family, had possessed himself by fraud and force of their recovered property, after which he became eloquent in his own praise for giving them food and clothing.

(*Journal*.) "I have long known this man unfit to reign, for truly, as the *Singapore Free Press* remarked, 'He has the head of an idiot, and the heart of a pirate;' but his time draws to a close, and from the first I have never lost sight of the advisability of deposing him, and substituting Muda Hassim in his place. The time, however, is not yet ripe. Bruné requires repose, and there are, or may be, prejudices and objections to the step in England. However, some day, if events follow their present course, he will cease to be Sultan."

Three days were given to Bruné, during which "fruit enough to fill a room," came from all quarters—fruit with known and unknown names—durians, mangosteens, the lansut, the rombusteen, balunas, pitabus, mowhas, plantains, etc.; and then, with a light heart, the Raja went on to Saráwak, happy—for the country was comparatively safe, and he had

not been the means of deceiving by false hopes those who trusted him. "I first taught them to respect and to confide in Englishmen, and no one else has yet untaught them this lesson." Before leaving, September 3rd, he gave to Budrudeen his own crest-engraved ring as a farewell token, and so they parted.

Arrived at Kuching, Captain Bethune, who was to proceed to England by the October mail, first accompanied Brooke in a visit to four Dyak tribes; Commander Fanshawe and a party of "Cruisers" going too. It was a royal progress of five days.

(*Journal.*) "At each tribe there was dancing, and a number of ceremonies. White fowls were waved, slaughtered, and the blood mixed with kuny-it, a yellow root, etc., etc., which delightful mixture was freely scattered over them and their goods by me, holding in my hand a dozen or two women's necklaces. Captain Bethune has seen and can appreciate the Dyaks: to-morrow he leaves me, and most sorry shall I be to lose him. A better man, or a better public servant, is not to be found. The progress is ended. To-morrow (September 20th) I shall be left in the solitude and quiet of the jungle: but after witnessing the happiness and the growing prosperity of the Dyak tribes, I can scarcely believe that I could devote my life to better purpose; and I dread that a removal might destroy what I have already done.

"We must now await the decision of Government with patience. Captain Bethune, in making his report, will have the advantage of real substantial personal knowledge. I esteem him highly, and regard him as a man of the most upright principles, who is not, will not be, swayed in his duty by any considerations whatever. I am glad we are to stand the ordeal of such a man's inquiry."

The comparative rest that followed Captain Bethune's departure was grateful after the previous toil and excitement, and a welcome arrival came in seven huge cases of books. The last mail had brought tidings of the death of Mr. Templer's mother, and Brooke thus wrote to his friend, October 21st:—

"I sympathize with you, though I feel that all expressions of condolence are perfectly useless, and with you needless. I always felt the warmest regard for your mother, and many a time, walking in your garden, have listened to her hopes, her fears, and her wishes, regarding her children. She was indeed a most affectionate and attached mother, to whom you have all owed much, and whose loss you naturally felt acutely. Nevertheless, our grief for those advanced in life, is moderated and soothed by many considerations; our own affection—our selfish affection—would scarcely desire prolonged life for a parent when it is accompanied by increased suffering and debility; we could not wish clouds to gather round the close of a life, most portions of which had been marked by as much worldly happiness as is accordant with our state of being. Few of us desire a life prolonged to an extreme age for ourselves, and we ought not to desire it for those we love, and in your dear mother's case, the decline of her health for years left little to be looked forward to had her life been prolonged. We experience a tender feeling for those we have loved and lost, but we have lost them in a course of nature, and in the course of nature we hope, nay we expect, to rejoin them.

"I began by saying that I could say nothing, yet have I said a great deal, but it is rather the expression of my thoughts, than from any hope of affording consolation, for your own mind will long since have suggested more than I have written. Your father's loss is great indeed, and there, alas! there is no mitigation save in the belief of a life to come, and hope of future reunion. They say age blunts our keenest feelings, and probably it may be true; but in age there is the increased sense of desolation and of loneliness—the inability to supply what we have lost. Pray say all you can from me to your father, and assure him how fully I sympathize in his heavy affliction.

"I will now revert to your former letters, wherein you mention that you showed my 'independent letter,' as you are pleased to term it, to Lord Haddington. In this matter

you must judge for yourself, but if I were to write for his eye, my letters would probably be stiffer and more reserved than they are, not that I should wish it, but because 'tis the nature of the animal. As for the letter in question, I retain no distinct recollection of it, but I believe I was a little impatient at the time of writing; and as for independence, I flatter myself I am always independent, and I am sure neither Lord Haddington nor yourself will like me the worse for it.

"Bethune has left me. I esteem him very highly, and he has my fullest confidence. I have written him a long letter, and sent therewith vocabularies of eight Dyak dialects. The protection which he and I talked over was no more or no less than a flag, with the Union cantoned in it, which has been done at the Sandwich islands, and which it is a pity was not done at Otaheite. The Union cantoned would give security to British property. Bethune knows all about it, so I need not go into particulars. I have likewise enclosed to B. some extracts from a letter I wrote Sir J. Cochrane which refer to Brunė; they refer to the probability of Pangeran Usop coming into collision with the legitimate authorities: and I hold that, having convicted and punished Usop, all future events contingent upon the Admiral's action, which disturb the security of our friends, must be noticed by us. In other words, having boldly punished Usop for breach of agreement, and enslaving British subjects, and having got the Government to be a party to our quarrel, we must back them through any danger which arises in consequence.

"Since my return from Malludu, the chiefs of Samarahan, Sadong, Linga, and Kaluka are quiet and bullied, dependent upon Saráwak, and quite obedient. Sakarran I think I can make something of. I send Williamson there soon, as my *avant courier*, to make a treaty of lasting peace and friendship with the Dyaks. The ceremony consists there in washing muskets, balls, spears, swords, and other warlike instruments in cold water, and swearing over the contents. Then follows the killing of pigs and feasting. Sarebus is badly governed by the Malays, who are rascals—at least some of them. The

Dyaks, too, are most of one counsel, and hereafter they may forget Keppel's lesson; but at present they are unceasingly pestering me with their requests for enemies whose heads they may take. I always tell them to go to Singapore to kill the English!

"As for Keppel's book, I know not what to think, but I do not much care. I believe my Journal has a good deal of information; but, like plums in a pudding, you must pick it out, the rest is but leather and prunella. The Journal, too, is written *currente calamo;* it shows all my humours and moods—and worse, it shows my indolence and carelessness—many a beginning of a subject without an end—many a sketch intended to be filled up into a chapter. The Celebes part, which will not be in the book, is the best. There is more there to write about, of active exertion and show. Another thing you must remember is, that the first impressions, during the stay of some years, are succeeded by the second, and then by others, which necessarily causes flat contradictions of myself in various parts. Well! well! It signifies not, and I am pleased to hear the first part of the Journal you liked. I hope Keppel will not make a hero of me; it is a bore, and I am too quiet for a hero, and too reserved for a lion's skin to deck my limbs. My comfort is that I am in good company. The Hon. Henry Keppel will be leniently dealt with; and if the reverse, we are but a nine days' laughing-stock."

In a later letter (December 10th) this publication of his Journal is again referred to. "There is some hitch made by Mr. Wise about Keppel's book. I believe he considers the publication might prejudice the public against me, or might injure me in some way. That the book must be a bad one I think certain: 1st, because the Journal is unlicked and unlickable except by myself; 2ndly, because Keppel's material is slight; 3rdly, because a literary hack must do it badly, more especially with such heterogeneous materials."

The town of Kuching had now become four times its former size. Instead of famine, grain was largely stored; and five hundred tons had been exported in six months,

during which time one hundred trading vessels entered the river, where before it was rare to register one a month. From all sides Malay and Dyak migrated over the border into Saráwak; and more would have followed had the Raja encouraged them. As it was, the chiefs of the surrounding provinces found it necessary to rule their people lightly, or lose them altogether; and in this way his indirect influence was wide-spread. In November, forty Malay families arrived at once. They had been wandering in every direction to escape from persecution, when a rumour reached them of one spot of land where the miserable and destitute could live in peace. Buoyed up by this hope, they had made long and weary journeys; but Saráwak was reached at last, and they were safe. Sarebus and Sakarran meanwhile were trying to beat their swords into ploughshares, but did not find the process easy, and at Sakarran there was a resolute opposition from three Sheriffs. "Turn them out," had been Brooke's answer when appealed to on the subject; and at a council convened by the chief men it was decided that his instructions should be followed at once. This was sooner said than done, for the Sheriffs would not go; whereupon a messenger was despatched in hot haste to Saráwak, who, quick returning, brought word that in two days help would arrive.

Then came bustle in Kuching, for in these piping days of peace the chiefs had let their war-boats rot, and there were not many fit for service. But the Raja had promised, and every one knew he kept his word and made others keep theirs; so night and day the people worked, and the expedition, commanded by Mr. Williamson, got off with an unusual rapidity. Brooke thought it best to let them go without him, but as day followed day many a qualm passed over his mind that it would have been wiser to have gone too. It was all right, however, and in about a fortnight the fleet returned in triumph. The opposing Sheriffs, seeing such a force against them, had fled into the jungle, and the only regret was that they had escaped. A little later, two of them, our old acquaintance Sheriff Muller, and a Sheriff Ahmed (Sheriff

Sahib was dead), turned up again, and thought to settle too near their old haunts for the safety of the country, whereupon, a complaint being made, the Raja wrote to Sheriff Ahmed's father—

"The Tuan Besar wishes to let Sheriff Jaffir know that Sheriff Muller and Sheriff Ahmed are building houses at the Moarra Sakarran. As it is well known they cannot be allowed to live there, the Tuan Besar thinks it will save them some trouble to stop their building these houses; but if they chose to live at the Moarra, they must protect themselves, as the Tuan Besar will attack them without loss of time. The Tuan Besar wishes to be quite clear with the Sheriff Jaffir on this subject, and repeats that if Sheriff Muller, Sheriff Ahmed, and the rest stay at Moarra Sakarran, instead of coming as Sheriff Ahmed agreed, to Ensingê, that he will attack them directly after the receipt of this letter. They may do as they think best, but they will not be allowed to remain at Moarra Sakarran, as the Tuan Besar has been informed by the chiefs of Sakarran, that when Sheriff Ahmed was preparing to pirate, Abong Mum was amongst the Dyaks persuading them to go out. For these reasons the Tuan Besar writes to Sheriff Jaffir, that his son, Sheriff Ahmed, and Sheriff Muller may be prevented from doing what they will repent afterwards."

A few more specimens of Raja Brooke's style of correspondence with the native chiefs may not be out of place here—

"This letter is from the Tuan Besar of Saráwak to Bandar Cassim, Datu of Sadong, to inform Bandar Cassim that the Dyaks of Samarahan have complained that they have received orders from Sadong, that they are not to trade with any other person but Bandar Cassim, at the same time bullets have been sent, to let them know that they will be attacked, if they disobey.

"The Tuan Besar writes to acquaint Bandar Cassim that the country of Samarahan is not under the Government of Sadong, and that the Bandar has nothing to do with the Dyaks there. The Bandar must send and take back the bullets, and not interfere with the people of Samarahan, whether Malays or Dyaks.

"The Tuan Besar tells Bandar Cassim likewise that the Dyaks of Si Nankan and Tumma have removed from the Sadong territory to the land of Saráwak, and will be in future under the Government of the Tuan Besar.

"If Bandar Cassim's government is good, the Dyaks of Sadong will not leave their country; but if the government is bad, and the property and children of the Dyaks are taken away, all the Dyaks will leave Sadong, and go to other countries. All Malays and Dyaks who come to the country of Saráwak, the Tuan Besar will take care of; and all the people, Malays or Dyaks, who wish to leave Saráwak and go to any other country, the Tuan Besar will not prevent their moving; for the Dyaks, like the Malays, are not slaves, nor do they belong to any person, and they can always choose in what country they shall live."

SKETCH OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN SANGOW AND SADONG.

"The Bandar Cassim and the Radin, on the part of Pangeran Paduka, agree that between Sangow and Sadong no discussion shall take place respecting the Dyaks. What is done, is done; neither party looks back, both parties look forward. On the subject of trade, the road through Sadong, either up or down the river to Sangow, shall be open, and no duty shall be imposed in Sadong by Bandar Cassim, or any other person for the space of two years; and moreover Bandar Cassim will not hold himself, nor shall he allow any other person to hold, a monopoly for that space. It is understood clearly by both parties, that in the conveyance of the goods across land, or by water, the Dyaks are to be paid, and one party will not interfere with the Dyaks of the other.

"The Tuan Besar takes the Dyaks of Si Nankin and those Tumma who have come to Saráwak territory, because the Tuan Besar receives all persons who come to Saráwak, and gives them protection; all persons can trade with those Dyaks, and no one can injure or oppress them. When they get birds' nests from their usual caves, any person who goes amongst them to oppress them, the Tuan Besar will have seized and fined,

and if in future any person doing mischief amongst, should be killed by them, the Tuan Besar will consider such persons rightly served. Any persons who injure the Dyaks, who sell them unjustly, or seize their property or children, will meet with the Tuan Besar's anger; and all Dyaks who are ill used in their own country, and seek better government in Saráwak, will meet with protection and safety."

The playful side of Raja Brooke's nature is shewn in the following anecdote from his Journal of this November. It is a characteristic almost too subtle to paint, and yet without it his portraiture would be as little truthful as a photograph that gives only the set outlines of a face always in motion, and one expression alone of a countenance that varies with the varying thought.

"A crocodile which had eaten a man was captured alive and brought to him, when a discussion arose as to its fate. One party maintained that it was proper to bestow all praise and honour on the kingly brute, as he was himself a Raja among animals, and was now brought to meet the Raja; in short, that praise and flattery were agreeable to him, and would induce him to behave genteelly in my presence. The other party said that it was very true that on this occasion Raja met Raja, but that the consequence of honouring and praising a captured crocodile would be that the crocodile community at large would become vain and unmanageable, and, after hearing of the triumphant progress of their friend and relative, would take to the same courses with double industry, and every one eat his man for the sake of obtaining the like fame.

"Having maturely weighed the arguments on both sides, taking also into deep consideration the injury which so unwieldly a captive might do in roaming over my garden and grounds, followed by a host of admirers, I decided that he should be instantly killed without honours; and he was despatched accordingly, his head severed from the trunk, and the body left exposed, as a warning to all other crocodiles that may inhabit these waters."

In the midst of this peaceful state of affairs, there once more came on the scene Pangeran Makota—"*My friend*," writes Brooke, "the excellent, the candid, the amiable Der Makota!"

After much beating about the bush, the object of his visit came out. Owing to unforeseen disasters, and to circumstances wholly beyond his control, his finances had become seriously disordered, and—and—would the Raja lend him two thousand reals? No; the Raja did not lend money. Only one thousand, then? No. Then might it be one hundred—fifty—five? No; not one farthing! So the Serpent had to retire as gracefully as was compatible with the accidents of his position; but, being an artful beggar, he succeeded *en passant* in extracting three reals from Mr. Ruppell, who is honoured in the Journal with the Raja's opinion that the three reals were badly laid out.

In December, the Orang Kaya, or principal chief, of Sarebus visited Kuching—a small and plain old man, with one arm disabled, and a body covered with spear wounds. "I do not dislike the look of him," wrote Brooke; "and of all the chiefs of that river, I believe he is the most honest, and steers his course straight enough. He asked my permission to attack the Undup Dyaks. I replied that if he did I would assuredly attack Sarebus. Why should he act hostilely against these people? Yet this barefaced application to carry destruction amongst an unoffending people is nothing compared to the want of faith, the treachery, the deceit and intrigues of the Malays. I am most anxious that all classes, and every province and district, should reap the advantages of my pacific policy, and steady progress towards the development of the country; yet how can it be accomplished, unless I succeed in training them to peaceful habits, and can give them some sort of government which shall correct by degrees the native character. It is absolutely necessary to punish as well as foster—to make myself feared as well as loved. I was accidentally reading Blackwood to-day, and I mark down the following passage from an article on Ethiopia, which is applicable to this part of the world:—

"Insignificant stations on the coast to carry on a peddling traffic are beneath a manly and comprehensive policy. We must penetrate the mountains, ascend the rivers, and reach the seats of sovereignty. We must by a large but generous self-interest combine the good, the knowledge, and the virtue of the population with our own; and we must lay the foundations of our permanent influence over this fourth of the globe by showing that we are the fittest to communicate the benefits, and establish the example, of civilized society."

The Journal continues—

"*January* 1, 1846.—The New Year came in merrily, and was hailed by English voices and English hearts; ay, and by English songs and English toasts; and earnest were the wishes from all of us that we might meet here again on each succeeding new year.

"Then the middle of the day was welcomed with as showy and as curious a regatta as could be found or heard of in the annals of any land. Flags waved, banners floated in the breeze, and happy faces beamed with delight, whilst the swarthy sons of Saráwak (as a novel writer would express himself) contended for prizes in solid rupees. Never were boat races better contested; never did a people enjoy themselves more or behave better; and what we may have lacked in wit and polish, we made up for in merriment and laughter. The new year of old England will, I trust, henceforward be a day of rejoicing in Saráwak; a festival to which the natives of every class may look forward with a happy feeling; a small link in the chain of associations with which I wish to bind them to my mode of government."

After this a contrast is drawn between the climate of England and Saráwak, greatly in favour of the latter; we see, however, by a letter to his brother-in-law, Mr. Johnson, that Saráwak, too, had its drawbacks in this respect—

"On New-year's Day we had the Saráwak grand regatta for boats paddling; and the long canoes, carrying from twenty to thirty men each (level nearly with the water's edge), made an excellent race. Thirteen boats entered, and at the start

the flash of the paddles, the water thrown up, and the wild yells of the paddlers, were really interesting and novel. The young ladies would, I dare say, have thought it alarming. This is at present our rainy season. Seldom a day passes without a brief deluge, and now and then the rain descends thick and heavy for five days together—the river swells and rolls majestically down, the sun shows himself not, and the inhabitants keep quietly in their houses.

"You describe your evening employ in August last. Here am I, on this 10th day of January, seated alone at an open window. Time, one p.m. The sun gleams out by fits and starts. A pleasant breeze shakes the plantain-trees close to me, and they whisper a gentle music. The air is cool; the thermometer stands at 82°. From my seat I glance with pride over my well-filled book-shelves, or turn my eyes upon soft green without; roses and jessamine, chumpaka and kananga (flowers sweet-scented you know not of)—the produce of the garden—are placed on the table, and throw their odours around."

This letter has a postscript to Mrs. Johnson—

"My Lady,—When do you intend to write, or are old age and indolence strong upon you?"

Of the same date is a letter to his eldest nephew—the Johnny of childish days, now a young officer in the army, and known more frequently by his second name of Brooke—

"I owe you a letter which I did not pay you whilst you continued at home, for you would there have heard of me, and read my letters to your father. I am afraid you must have found it very dull at home; for home, with all our love for our relations, will be dull after the parade and society of a regiment; and the pleasures of hunting on a small scale, or trotting between Lackington and Barrow, would not compensate for the sports of Greece, or the society of Malta. They will all love you the better for any little sacrifice, and you will love them the more for having made it.

"I envy you your excursion into Greece, and should greatly have liked to have shot woodcocks in your company in

that wild and most interesting land. Do you remember our shooting woodcocks amid the ruins of Ephesus, and your feat of carrying the hares on the plains of Troy? My private opinion is that there is no good sporting in England. Don't mention it, or it will ruin my character as a gentleman. The sport is artificial, and the zest derived from emulation and the difficulty there is of being in the sporting circles. The high price of the horses, the fine clothes, and the good dinners, all limit sport to the wealthy, and with many of these it is a laborious pleasure.

"Here we have no sport except deer shooting, and deer shooting entails much labour. Your coz., Arthur Crookshank,* is our only successful sportsman, and when he goes away for two or three days, he generally furnishes the table with venison. Several Winkles we have, who occasionally try their hands, but these hands tremble so from excitement when they see a deer that they never manage to hit. The deer are fine stately beasts, or, as I remember a gamekeeper saying, 'Almighty beasts,' standing as high as a red deer or a pony.

"Saráwak is very flourishing, and I look forward to deriving a fair revenue from it in a few years, without distress to the inhabitants. We live now in perfect security; never think of wearing arms; sleep with the doors open; and travel about the country in small parties with or without a rifle. Crime is unfrequent. Last month I executed a man for a murder committed a year before, and flogged and turned out of the country three or four petty thieves.

"I entertain no doubt of completely putting down piracy between Bruné and Saráwak in the course of three years, if my measures be carried out; but to the northward it will be a far more difficult task, and we shall come in contact with

* Mr. A. C. Crookshank joined the Raja in 1843, and remained in the Saráwak service till 1873. On Mr. Williamson's death, in 1846, Mr. Crookshank became police-magistrate of Saráwak, and subsequently resident, and a member of the Supreme Council. During the absence of the Raja, in 1847-48, he was placed as Senior Executive in charge of the Government, and was also in charge during the absences, at various times, of Sir James Brooke, Captain Brooke, and the present Raja.

powerful piratical nations: Sulu, for instance, and Mindaneo. It cannot be imagined that the pirate communities have any great love towards me; but did they only know what was for their own good, they ought to esteem me highly. When these communities lose more than they gain by piracy, and feel piracy is like sitting on a barrel of gunpowder with a lighted match in the hand, then, and then only, they will discontinue it. Heretofore the efforts to put piracy down have been desultory and ineffective; and the pirates have so little respect for the Spaniards or the Dutch that only two or three years ago they sent a letter to Macassar, threatening to burn the place, and appointed a rendezvous where they would meet the Dutch Admiral, to fight in a fair field. This was done because some time previous some Dutch vessels had ventured to attack, to sink, and to capture some piratical prahus.

"As you observe in your letter, the Dutch are jealous of my position. They have attacked me, and have failed. Their suspicions are as ill-founded as their interpretations of the treaty, and you may leave me alone not to infringe on the latter, or not to commit any act of aggression on the interests of Holland. My heart and my hands are unstained even by any evil intention towards that nation; and, although I do not admire their Eastern policy or government, I would not thwart them, unless under orders, or unless it was in direct breach of the treaty on their part. It is natural, however, for a weak nation to be jealous of a powerful one, and to impute designs to every travelling gentleman against their interests. But I believe, as far as I am myself concerned, that if the Dutch Ministers knew all that I had done since my advent in the East, they would allow that there was no real ground for suspicion or distrust.

"I am only vexed that the Government at home cannot make up its mind as to its measures. Two years and a half we have been waiting and inquiring, and it will be six months yet before we can hear their ultimate decision. Captain Bethune, who has recently gone home, will, I doubt not, bring the matter to a crisis; and whether Ministers do something

or nothing, I shall be content to be relieved from the state of suspense in which I have lately been kept. Death is better than a prolonged uncertainty.

"I have had some discussion with Wise of late; he is an excellent fellow and interested in my success, and I feel great confidence in him; but at the same time I consider his measures as too rapid, and his projects too extensive. After all, though, the difference is a short one, and refers more to time than any real disagreement of principle; but at the same time I have resolved, and told Wise, that I will not receive any pecuniary advantage from any projects generated in England. Wise is quite right if he does so, after a mature consideration of circumstances; but it would be wrong in me and dishonourable to make anything, because what is to be made belongs in right to the Bruné Rajas. I desire to run no risk, to bear an easy mind, to have a sufficient and steady revenue, an increasing country, and, above all, to be under British protection, with the Union cantoned on a Saráwak flag. Then Saráwak will be safe; then it will be a Government which, rightly and liberally managed, must improve vastly. If the salons of London be preferred to the jungles of Borneo, if pleasure gain the ascendant over ambition and duty, then and then only the Government of Saráwak and the influence on Bruné will pass away."

Since Mr. Wise was last mentioned he had visited Saráwak, and, after accompanying Raja Brooke and Captain Bethune to Bruné, returned to England apparently convinced of the wisdom of patience and moderation in any pecuniary scheme for advancing the movement of which the Raja was the centre; but once more in the vortex of London capitalists, visions of speedy wealth again floated before his eyes. Perhaps, when away from Brooke it was difficult to realize his true nature—easy to lead in some things, impossible to drive in any, quixotic in imagination, clear and shrewd in action, inflexible in principles, indifferent where no principle was concerned. Perhaps it was not only difficult, but impossible, to credit the existence of a man desiring wealth for

a great object, and in a position to carry out that object, refusing persistently to countenance a scheme that offered to lay it at his feet, from scruples that to Mr. Wise may have appeared wholly unnecessary or even foolish.

Writing, February 12th, 1846, to Mr. Templer, the Raja says—

"One of the reasons why I have not written to you so fully as usual is a small war I have with my agent, Mr. Wise. His projects are so extended, and his ambition so vaulting, that I am obliged to check his career, which must in the end fail. He talks of making me one of the richest men in England, provided only I shut my eyes, open my mouth, and see what God will send me! I do not approve of this procedure, and therefore I must be content to be poor and indifferently honest!

"Seriously though, I hold by one principle—that no prospect of personal advantage ought to induce me to risk the happiness of the many thousand people here—and risked it would be were a large capital thrown suddenly into this country, under the superintendence of a number of Europeans.

"A gradual and natural development is what I require, and it is as necessary to a State as to a man in infancy that each part should grow in proportion. What is the use of a monster, all legs and no head? I am trying to fit the cap to the head, and averse to fit the head to the cap. I will trouble you more at large next mail on this topic."

The promised letter is dated March 5, 1846:—

"By the last mail I wrote but a short letter, having more than an ordinary press of correspondence, and being somewhat vexed at what I considered a wrong course which my affairs had taken at home.

"The truth is there are parties who wish me to plunge headlong into all kinds of bold speculation, and who promise me wealth if I do so. A sketch is made out of a company who are to buy up my rights in Saráwak; develop the resources of the various rivers; and, above all, work the coal mines of

Bruné. All this I have positively declined, because a part of the project is unjust, part visionary, and part premature; and, in my opinion, if a measure of this sort be precipitately undertaken, it would end in failure and bloodshed, undoing all that has been done by time and patience. From temper and education I am averse to mix myself up in any scheme, though, as in the present one, I can easily see that, with a small rent in my reputation, I might pocket a large sum of money. I will not trouble you with detailed reasons, but it will suffice to say that I have declined becoming a party to any project which may be originated in England; though I do not deny that hereafter, and under different circumstances —after further inquiry and mature deliberation—a portion of the project, viz., the working the Bruné coal, might be undertaken with profit to the parties engaged, to the Bruné Rajas, and to the advantage of both countries. Allowing this, however, it is clear that the pecuniary advantages derived must fall to the share of the Rajas, and that my participation would be an act of swindling those who trust in my integrity.

"I have declined for numerous good reasons; but before this subject was broached I had a project of my own for the further development of Saráwak—a project I considered both safe and feasible. Capital in moderation is the great want at present, in the hands of parties who would wield it with moderation.

"I offered to let the monopoly of antimony ore, of opium, and of the right of working the Diamond River, for five, seven, or ten years, for a yearly rental of £2,500; the ore over and above a thousand tons to pay extra £1 per ton. These terms are most moderate, but I was induced to make them so by the consideration that I should enjoy an independence—be able to refund a portion of what I have laid out—and that, whilst a benefit was conferred on the country by the gradual introduction of capital in the hands of responsible parties, I might look forward to other sources of revenue, and to a term of the lease, to a further increase of wealth. The outlay to the parties leasing would not exceed £8000 at the first, and for

this sum, if their own calculations be reckoned at a half, they might expect a return of £5000 a-year clear of expenses. The advantages are that the parties derive an immediate return for their money; a small capital is sufficient; it involves no difficulty of legislation; it precludes any mass of Europeans entering the country; it appeals to their pecuniary interest for their good conduct, and it is a project which may be indefinitely extended by slow degrees. Add to this—it risks nothing, it is consistent with the state of society, and trusts to time, the improver, for the natural development of a new country.

"I can see my way through this plan, but the other is a field of speculation, and, if I may say what I think, it will become a question of scrip rather than any positive project of improvement. The defeat of all projects generated in the hot-bed of London is that they fit the head to the cap instead of fitting the cap to the head. Projectors are deaf to the voice of experience, and defy the force of circumstances. Who, of the thousands forming a company, think or care for the result? A man whose remuneration depended upon success, would cautiously advance, risk as little as possible, and work circumspectly with the tools he finds ready to his hands. But I need write no more about it. I hate a large company, which is puffed up and tricked out like a saint, and which, like a saint, promises much in future for a small present contribution. In the second or third stage of this image-worship, the eyes of the worshippers are opened—the puff is a falsehood, the saint a harlequin, and the last believer who has trusted loses his mite and gains nothing. But the priests of the idol—do they not eat and drink? Do they not buy and sell? What is the idol to them?—let him fall, and they will soon find another.

"In fact, my dear Jack, I will have none of it. I wish to risk nothing. I want no profit but such as flows in the course of time and improvement; and I desire to keep myself clear of all projects which, by holding out great personal advantages, might blind me to what is right, and what is due to my own

reputation. Such schemes have already wrecked many a fair reputation, and will wreck many more. The hope of sudden wealth blinds its votaries—they dabble in stock and scrip, and, with but few exceptions, they belong to the two great classes —the 'doers' and the 'done.'

"*March 10th.*—The 6th brought me a mail to the end of December by the *Royalist*, tender of the *Samarang*. It did not bring me any letter from you, which I attribute to the holidays. The same 6th March was an important day in the the legislation of Saráwak, as I passed, with the consent of the Datus and principal men, a law which must ultimately strike at the very root of slavery. All slaves from other countries who run to Saráwak are declared free, and are to be incorporated into the body of enlightened citizens."

The handful of Europeans who had greeted each other on New-year's Day was soon after diminished by the death, through drowning, of Williamson, the Malay interpreter. He was, perhaps, the earliest member of the Saráwak Civil Service, and as such received the following letter from the Raja—

"*January* 26, 1846.—Dear Sir,—You will consider the present communication as of an official character, to guide your future conduct and to point out the limits of the duties assigned to your situation.

"There are two rules of such vital importance that I shall mention them in the first place, in consequence of its being indispensably necessary that every gentleman holding an official situation should most strictly adhere to them; and because the character of all parties concerned must be deeply injured from any deviation from these rules, as tending immediately to lower the European character in native estimation.

"The first rule is—That no gentleman, entrusted, like yourself, to a certain extent, with the administration of justice, and to whom the natives are in the habit of applying for redress of grievances, must become indebted in any way to a native.

"I need add nothing to this rule, as the consequent loss

of character, and the undue influence obtained by the native, are too apparent to need comment.

"The second rule is—That no gentleman, in an official capacity, can directly, or indirectly, derive any benefit from trade, or be permitted to accept presents, except such as are of the most trifling description.

"You must bear in mind that any advantage gained in traffic of any sort accrues not in the character of a trader, but from the position of the official person, and not only justly subjects that person to the gravest suspicions of his superiors, but causes a bias in his own mind whenever the rights of justice become opposed to the profits of trade.

"These reasons, together with the obvious interference of traffic with the time which might be devoted to other duties, are of sufficient weight alone to render it imperative that neither directly nor indirectly you should be concerned in any matter of trade.

"The two rules, to which I call your serious attention, are of such importance in my estimation that I consider their infringement as tending directly to the corruption of justice, and as most seriously hurtful to the character of any public servant; and so jealous do I feel on this score that I do not hesitate to add, that in future I shall not scruple to withdraw my confidence from any gentleman who I may have reason to think has been guilty of deviating from them in the slightest degree.

"These two primary rules are to be maintained intact, not only by general integrity, but by a due observance of a certain degree of caution and reserve in our conduct towards the natives. The degree of freedom, which each person may allow himself, must depend upon individual character and individual feeling; but there is a point beyond which freedom in our intercourse with the natives ought not to be carried, viz., that point of familiarity, which, if it does not breed contempt, certainly acquires no respect.

"I allude particularly to the habit of almost daily visiting at native houses, and a degree of intimacy with the females of

their families, which involves directly, or by implication, an official person in all the petty intrigues unceasingly carried on by native women. This degree of intimacy with the natives is as far removed from the ordinary interchange of friendly politeness as a proper reserve is compatible with every rational object of conciliation and esteem.

"Trifling as this subject may at first sight appear, it becomes important from its connection with the rules previously stated; for if in the society of our own countrymen it is no easy task so to shape our conduct as to preserve at once their affection and their respect, how much more difficult must this task become to an official person, whose duties bring him in contact with a race of people so different from himself in habits, manners, and, above all, in morality.

"I re-state, therefore, that too great a familiarity with the natives is injurious to the estimation in which an official person should be held, and is incompatible with the high character for justice, for morality, and for right feeling, which the European gentleman should maintain with the native princes and the local authorities.

"In the same manner, the consequent hourly intercourse with the better class of natives renders it less easy for the poorer people to gain approach for the purpose of privately stating their grievances, and is, moreover, so far detrimental to justice that the bearings of a case are too often discussed before the case is brought into court."

CHAPTER XVII.

1846.

It will be remembered that Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane did not station a vessel permanently on the north-west coast of Borneo, and that this was to Raja Brooke the only unsatisfactory part of the proceedings. He foresaw that the first few months would be a critical time. There was no regular communication between Bruné and Saráwak; occasional accounts, however, had been good. Budrudeen's pursuit of Usop had ended in his capture and execution. So far all seemed well, but troubles were at hand.

First, the piratical party at Sakarran got the upper hand, and a force of 1200 men plundered and ravaged in the old fashion; and then there came a disappointment of another kind, for Captain (now Admiral Sir) G. Rodney Mundy, of H.M.S. *Iris*, then senior officer in the Straits, having written to the Raja to say he hoped to visit Saráwak, found himself obliged instead to accompany the Admiral to India on account of the breaking out of war there. Sir T. Cochrane, however, arranged that the *Hazard*, a small sloop of war, should touch at Bruné. This she did towards the end of March, when her commander, Captain Egerton, would have landed, but that a native, who reached the vessel with great difficulty, warned him of a treacherous plot on his life, and earnestly begged to be taken himself to Saráwak that he might tell his story to the Raja. Convinced that the man was in earnest, Captain Egerton sailed immediately, reaching Kuching March 29th;

and heavy tidings indeed he carried thither—nothing less than the massacre, by the Sultan, of Muda Hassim, Budrudeen, and every member of the royal family known to favour the English alliance. It came on Brooke with crushing force.

"I say nothing about myself," he wrote to Mr. Templer, "except that I am unwell; violent passions and sleepless nights are hard to bear, but I do my best. I wish not to complain. I lay no blame on any one. I look forward as much as I can, and backwards as little, but I cannot and ought not yet to forget my poor friends who lie in their bloody graves. The signet, my own crest and gift to him, that Budrudeen sent to me in his dying moments, is a pledge not to be false to him in death. It is a poor, a melancholy consolation that he died so nobly; his last thought was upon me —his last request that I would tell the Queen of England how he perished. Surrounded by traitors, who still held back from his desperation, wounded to death, he applied the match which blew himself, his sister, and another wounded and faithful woman, into eternity. A nobler, a braver, a more upright prince could not exist. I have lost a friend—he is gone, and I remain, I trust not in vain, to be an instrument to bring down punishment on the perpetrators of the atrocious deed."

The Governor of Singapore, on hearing the news, despatched the *Phlegethon* to be at the Raja's disposal. The steamer was useless for attack, but it enabled him to visit the different rivers. The result was satisfactory in that it proved that the crime originated in no wide-spread conspiracy; the Sultan's yoke was detested, and only the hope of better things springing from the return of Muda Hassim and Budrudeen had kept up a nominal allegiance which now all were ready to disown.

What steps, if any, the Admiral would take, and the wider question of the action of the British Government, is discussed in all the Raja's letters at this time.

To Mr. Johnson, June 14th.—"I know not what Ministers intend doing, but they ought to do something, or at once cut

the whole concern. I am not unmindful of the vitally-important questions now pending, nor do I wonder that the paltry affairs of Bruné should be neglected; yet delay now becomes injustice, and we have already reaped the first bitter fruits of it in the murder of our friends for their fidelity to their engagements and for their zeal in the suppression of piracy.

"This sad event must bring the Government to a decision one way or another, and as I have never been sanguine I shall not be disappointed should they decline interfering further with Borneo, after the punishment of the murderous Sultan. They are bound to this if they would not render the British name and character a laughing-stock to the whole Archipelago, for it is certain beyond doubt that this murder was committed on account of Muda Hassim's adherence to us, and in order to intimidate our Government for the future from daring to interfere in the suppression of piracy or the affairs of Bruné.

"I will not dwell on this melancholy topic, or trouble you with my feelings on the occasion, for I never recur to it without sorrow and deep regret, and all I need say is that the event will in no wise affect my position here, and may greatly extend my power along the coast, for all the rivers are (with two piratical exceptions) decidedly inclined to my rule in preference to that of Bruné. Could I act I would be answerable for bringing every river between this and Bruné under our subjection in two years, and that with very little fighting. The field is open if Government will advance, but should they not do so I must draw in as much as I can, and strive to consolidate and improve Saráwak."

To Captain Keppel, he wrote—"Borneo was in a transition state, and it is therefore to be regretted that the protection begged for by Budrudeen could not be given. They have fallen victims to their fidelity, and to our dilatory measures, and although we are greatly shocked at the event, we must still allow that the virtues of these brothers must, in a national point, retrieve even the imbecile rascality of that murderer the Sultan. It is on account of their virtues—their entire

good faith, their unerring fidelity, their sincere and tried endeavour to do good—that punishment should follow such an act, but I cannot doubt the fact when the Government shall learn that the Sultan has committed a most brutal massacre on our friends *as our* friends, that he has played traitor to his agreement, assumed a hostile attitude, and, above all, has virtually declared his adherence to piracy. *The attempt* to assassinate the captain of a man-of-war is of small moment, but every European now falling into his hands will be put to death, for a native once going wrong knows not when or where to stop.

"I hope to live to revenge the death of my friends and to be of some benefit to the few who survive. If Government carries out its measures, after punishment and deposition of of the Sultan, I imagine—as the book says—that the cost will be our own, and the poorer classes in Bruné located at our new settlement. Bruné may then be restored to its better Rajas, the brothers and relatives of Muda Hassim; and we may then command it more effectually than before: we may make the coal mines our own virtually, and really protect the workers. To me, personally, nothing can make up the loss of Budrudeen, and I know not whether the noble manner of his death be a grief or a consolation. Do, pray, always press one point—viz., that to suppress piracy it requires a consistent course of measures, and that it is not to be done by a desultory effort here, or a desultory effort there."

"If one of my favourite dreams of regenerating Bruné be now destroyed," he wrote to Mr. Templer, "the second proposition still holds good; the coast and the people are our own, and no people look with more eagerness than do they for our advent and influence to free them from the rule of Bruné. There is no difficulty if we act steadily; but if we are determined not to act, it would be wiser and more prudent to lose our character with a good grace and cease nibbling. Some good may result from evil measures carried out with energy, but good feebly performed turns to positive evil, and the consequences fall on the faithful and the friendly."

The harassing uncertainty as to whether the punishment that was due would be undertaken by the Admiral was set at rest in June. Captain Mundy relates how, after reaching Calcutta whither he had gone leaving the Admiral at Madras, a chance newspaper informed him of the outrage at Bruné, and in addition that Brooke was besieged and hard pressed in Saráwak; how, having long felt an interest in the strange career of his countryman, he made up his mind then and there to go if possible to his help; how, in spite of the grumblings of the young officers recalled by his sudden express from the festivities of a ball at Barrackpore, he applied to Sir Herbert Maddock, the acting governor, for a steamer to assist the *Iris* off; how Sir Herbert remarked that if Mr. Brooke were the same man as when he knew him he would die at his post rather than give way an inch; how he met the Admiral at Singapore better informed, but of the same mind as himself, and approving of his action; and finally, how, the British squadron anchoring off Saráwak, he accompanied Sir Thomas Cochrane by boat up the river to Kuching, where they landed, June 25th, close to the Raja's house.

"Mr. Brooke, accompanied by Mr. Crookshank, Dr. Treacher, and Mr. Ruppel, received us on the pier, and we passed up the gravelled walk, redolent with the perfume of innumerable jessamine trees in full blossom, forming a thick hedge-row on either side, and entered the great verandah of the picturesque mansion. Here we delayed only a few minutes to admire the novel and interesting scene before us, and then passed out into the garden below; and now, whilst I leave the Commander-in-chief and the Raja beneath the welcome shade of the flowing palms in earnest conversation, and together settling the future destiny of the kingdom of Borneo Proper, I will describe my first impressions, and relate some particulars of the province of Saráwak. The town itself, by the lowest computation, now contained twelve thousand inhabitants, whilst before the supreme authority had been vested in Mr. Brooke, it was limited to a few mud huts with about fifteen hundred persons, most of these being either the

relatives or armed retainers of the native princes. . . . After strolling about the grounds till evening set in, the whole party met again at dinner; and long before the cloth was removed, the chairs which were arranged round the walls of the room were tenanted by the principal men of the town, who presented themselves out of compliment to the *Raja Laut*, or King of the Sea. Later, two of the native rulers also made their appearance, and were provided with seats at the table close to Mr. Brooke, and seemed most anxious in their inquiries about the intentions of the Admiral."

Since March, boats laden with fugitives from Bruné, fleeing for safety from anarchy and bloodshed to the universal refuge, had reached Saráwak, and the story of Jaffir, the native brought by the *Hazard*, was abundantly confirmed. This man had been for many years a faithful slave servant to Budrudeen, and was well-known to Brooke.

His deposition, taken before Sir Thomas Cochrane, who had brought with him interpreters from Singapore, was to the effect that until the night of the massacre all had seemed peaceful, and no sign of danger apparent, when, worked on secretly by Usop's party, powerful still, though their chief was dead, the Sultan had yielded, and, without the slightest warning, the houses of Muda Hassim, Budrudeen, and eleven others of the royal family, were in the dead of night surrounded and attacked. The exact date was uncertain, but it must have been either in the end of December, or more probably early in January. Budrudeen, who had learned to fight like an Englishman, died like a hero.

The best account is given in a letter from the Raja to Captain Keppel, dated April 5, 1846—

"After fighting desperately, and cutting down several of his assassins, he was shot in his left wrist; his shoulder and chest were cut open so as to disable his right arm. A woman, by name Noor Salum, fought and was wounded by his side; his sister and a slave boy (Jaffir) both wounded, remained by him, the rest of his few followers having been cut down or fled. The four retired into the house and barred the door.

Budrudeen, wounded and bleeding, ordered the boy to get down a cask of powder, break in the head, and scatter it in a small circle. He ordered the boy to escape, gave him my signet ring, which I had made him a present of, and told him to beg me not to forget him, and to tell the Queen of England of his fate. He then called the woman to him, and, when the boy had dropped through the flooring into the water, fired the powder, and all three were blown into the air." Muda Hassim also, when escape was hopeless, had shot himself.

Jaffir succeeded in making his escape, but was discovered later by the Sultan, who took the ring from him, and Brooke never saw it again; but Jaffir himself was allowed to go, and he had then taken refuge with Muda Mahommed, who, though attacked with his brothers and desperately wounded, had saved his life by flight. When the *Hazard* came in sight, the Sultan conceived the idea of despatching a boat with Muda Hassim's flag to invite the captain to land, for the purpose of murdering him. Muda Mahommed was, however, in time to prevent this plot, by sending Jaffir immediately to the vessel, charging him to explain everything to the English captain, and to beg to be taken to Raja Brooke. The Sultan had openly declared that he made war on all who wished to keep faith with England in the suppression of piracy, while he had signed an order, commanding Makota, nothing loth, to poison Brooke, or, failing that, to attempt to raise an insurrection in Saráwak. Such was the story, told amid breakings down of tears, as the faithful servant recalled to his mind the fate of his lord.

The day after his arrival at Kuching the Admiral left again for Brunė; Brooke accompanying him in the flagship *Agincourt*, Captain Hope Johnstone; the rest of the squadron being composed of the *Iris*, Captain Rodney Mundy; *Ringdove*, Commander Sir William Hoste, Bart.; *Hazard*, Commander Egerton; *Royalist*, Lieutenant Reid; with H.M. steamship *Spiteful*, Commander Maitland, and the Company's steamer *Phlegethon*, Captain Ross. Captain Mundy was another witness to the grief of the Saráwak people at the departure of their Raja.

"The head men of every class, and large numbers of Chinese, Malays, and Dyaks, assembled to bid him farewell; and as he stepped into the boat, and waved his last adieux to his affectionate subjects, and to the few tried friends, his own countrymen, who had so long shared his exile and privations, it was indeed a stirring spectacle, and evidenced in the strongest manner the popularity of his government."

On the way to Bruné the squadron touched at various places, and the Rejang River was ascended in the *Phlegethon* as far as Kanowit. The people were not a little astonished at the apparition, and at first there was great dismay, but a linen sheet, made to do duty for a white flag—there being no flag of that colour in the Indian code—was immediately responded to by strips of white cloth hung from every window, and the chief with thirty followers came on board. He was an old man, much tattoed, and suffering so grievously from ophthalmia that, after being entertained and told the object of the expedition, the surgeon took him in hand and gave him such relief that he left the steamer in high spirits.

Even at this distance the people were familiar with the name of Raja Brooke, and they readily gave information. The Sultan had fortified his capital and would resist attack, and the Illanun pirates, encouraged by his example, were at full work.

At dawn of the 6th of June the British squadron entered the Borneo river, where the *Agincourt* anchored within Moarra Island. Fresh information showed that Jaffir's account was not exaggerated, and that his escape had been followed by the deaths of two more princes; also that Muda Mahommed was frequently taunted in the streets for being a Kafir, a friend of Europeans, and told that the English were afraid to come again.

A message from the Admiral, requesting an interview with the Sultan, and desiring to know if his Highness adhered to the engagement to which Muda Hassim had been a party, received no direct answer; but at length a prahu came down the river, gaily decked, and bearing two grandly-dressed

natives seated under a yellow umbrella. On reaching the *Agincourt*, they came on board, stating that they were pangerans sent by the Sultan to welcome the British Admiral for whom they had brought a letter. This, translated, ran as follows:—

"This letter is from Sultan Omar Ali Seffedin, who is sitting upon the throne of the kingdom of Borneo and its dependencies, *etc.* We are happy to learn that our friend, James Brooke, Esq., has arrived, and in consequence we send a small boat to meet him. Pangeran Muda Mahommed sends many compliments, and wishes to send some particulars about a ship which lately came to Borneo. When the news arrived in the city, within four or five hours afterwards the Sultan ordered a boat with two pangerans. On arriving at the ship they met the captain, and on finishing their conversation with him they requested leave to return, and the captain remarked, 'At eight to-morrow I shall come up and meet the Sultan.' The Sultan was pleased to learn this, and waited two days without the captain coming, therefore he sent a boat with two pangerans, with a present of a bullock and fowls, and the provisions of the place. On arriving at the ship the captain ordered them to retire, not allowing them to approach. On their returning to the city the Sultan received the news—and was very sorry, as was likewise the Pangeran Muda Mahommed—that the boats and presents of the Sultan had not been received. A follower of the Pangeran Budrudeen, by name Si Jaffir, whom the Pangeran Muda Mahommed wished to detain, fled to the ship; and it was in consequence of this the captain did not receive the boat, because he was very angry. The Pangeran Muda Mahommed, with many compliments, requests our friend not to believe anything Si Jaffir may have stated. Even the Sultan himself, our friend, cannot believe without being certain of the facts from the rajas, the ministers and nakodahs, and the people in general.

"With our compliments, we state our friend can consider the facts.

"Seal of Sultan Omar Ali, P. Mumim,
P. Muda Mahommed."

To this a verbal message was added, that the Sultan would be delighted to see the Admiral, but could not allow him to be attended by more than two small boats.

The letter read, Brooke questioned the bearers, and came to the conclusion that they were not pangerans as they professed to be, nor of any rank at all; that the whole thing was, in fact, a trap laid by the Sultan, and at his recommendation the would-be noblemen were detained on board. He was proved to be right; they were mere hangers-on about the court, taken from that strange tag-rag that habitually accompanies Eastern royalty.

No further communication coming, on the 8th of July the boats and small vessels of the squadron, commanded by Captain Mundy, ascended the river towards the town. Battery after battery appeared at each winding of the stream, which was further defended in one place by stakes. Here the boats paused for more sounding, the navigation becoming extremely difficult; and here the Sultan's people opened fire.

Captain Mundy describes their batteries as erected on a precipice 80 or 100 feet in height from the brink of the river, the pathway leading up to them being nearly perpendicular. Five of these were afterwards inspected, and found to be built of "immense piles firmly driven into the ground, and a parapet fifteen feet wide formed between them of solid earth, with substantial roofs above to protect them from rockets or musketry." But though defences were strong, hearts were weak; and Sultan, army, and people fled almost immediately, though not before the *Phlegethon* had been so shot below water-mark as to be in danger of sinking. Thirty-nine pieces of cannon, mostly of large calibre, were captured, some being beautiful specimens of old Spanish workmanship.

With some difficulty Pangerans Mumim and Muda Mahommed, the only surviving brothers of Muda Hassim, were persuaded to return to the deserted town. The latter shewed the wounds received the night his brothers were murdered; they were such as a European could hardly have survived.

A partial reconcilement with the Sultan had taken place, but it was only under compulsion that his signature had been added to the letter sent to the ship. The Sultan's principal instigator to the murders was, they said, a man of low birth, but of considerable influence, Hadji Saman by name. He had commanded the fort which first opened fire, and they spoke of him with evident dread.

It was immediately decided to follow up the Sultan. He was reported to be thirty miles inland, with a body-guard of five hundred men; and Captain Mundy, with a party of seamen, and accompanied by Brooke, started in pursuit. Travelling in Borneo is not particularly easy work at any time, and as it had now been raining in torrents for a fortnight, the country was a perfect swamp through which the little troop waded all day and slept all night—slept, that is to say, as well as the mosquitoes would allow. The Raja seems to have been proof against them now, but Captain Mundy in his narrative groans audibly. On they went, however, scrupulously civil to the natives, from whom Brooke, who was the eye and the ear of the force, got all the information possible, till at last the Sultan's place of refuge was reached, but only to find it forsaken. A miserable shed it was, and there was small satisfaction in burning it as a mark of progress. It seemed useless to advance further; and after more painful nights, with myriads of mosquitoes, and rain falling in one unbroken sheet, the returned expedition presented itself before the Admiral; as figures "unshorn for four days, covered with mud, with a rig unchanged during that period, and the skin peeled off our faces from exposure alternately to rain and sun."

The report they brought to Sir Thomas Cochrane was not very satisfactory, but Brooke declared it a great thing to have shown the natives that Europeans could penetrate the country, let its condition and the weather be what they might; whereon Captain Mundy remarks *sotto voce*, that if the Raja himself had not accompanied the party the chances were the country would have had to go without this moral effect; and

that he hoped they might be joined in many another task, though perhaps in less unpleasant circumstances.

Within a few days the town was inhabited as usual, and the musical performance of the band of the British ships proved a great attraction to the natives. A Provisional Government was by Brooke's exertions patched up, under Pangerans Mumim and Mahommed; but the former was weak though well-meaning, while the latter appeared almost imbecile from the wounds and terror of the awful night of the massacre; and the Admiral heartily wished to turn Bruné into another Saráwak, by making Brooke governor. As it was, acting in concert with the latter, he wrote a proclamation, which the Raja translated and read to the assembled people. In this they were told that if the Sultan chose to return and behave himself properly he would be allowed to do so, but if he dared to break faith with England again, the British fleet would come back and burn his town to the ground.

As a proof of power, the river batteries were destroyed; after which the squadron sailed northwards in search of Illanun pirates. Touching here and there along the coast, they made friends with the natives, whose language Brooke learned to understand with great quickness, although pure Malay was almost unknown. At a place called Kimanis, a very picturesque and flourishing village, the Europeans were attracted by a newly-erected grave, which on inquiry proved to be that of Usop and his brother. Flying from Bruné after their defeat by Budrudeen, they had tried to enlist the sympathy of the people of Kimanis; but these had instead made them prisoners, and written to Bruné for orders. "By return of post," writes Captain Mundy, "came the death warrant, signed by the Sultan, and countersigned by Raja Muda Hassim, and by the Pangerans Mudá Mahommed and Budrudeen. The paper was shown to Mr. Brooke, and we were all surprised at the form and regularity of the proceeding—the four large seals above, then a short history of the rebellious acts of the pangerans, and (what was more curious) a paragraph, stating that the Sultan had now made a treaty

of friendship with the Queen of England, and that the English would assist him in burning their towns if they screened these traitors convicted of piracy.

Creeping carefully along the coast, with occasional trouble and continual anxiety from coral reefs, they came to Ambong; and here we quote again from Captain Mundy—

"*July 29th.*—Went on to Ambong. Cattle had been purchased at this place last year, and Sir Edward Belcher had only left it two months ago, having procured everything he wished. He also had obtained the assistance of pilots to help him in his surveys of the coast; and the Admiral was therefore particularly desirous to make them suitable presents, and take from them as much live stock as possible. We reached the beautiful bay at noon to find only the ruins of the flourishing town described by Belcher. The story was soon told. The Orang Kaya came down from the hills, where a new village was in the course of building on a place capable of defence, and from him we learnt that ever since his people had shown a wish to be friendly with the English the Illanun pirates, who had established themselves on the sea-coast about ten miles to the northward, had sworn vengeance against them; that several actions had taken place during the last year, without decisive results; but that a fortnight ago, strong detachments of these rascals had come in a fleet of piratical prahus, had killed several of their people, captured and destroyed their town, and driven them to the jungle, declaring that the same ruin should be dealt out to every other place which might wish to trade with Europeans."

Provisions were liberally supplied by the natives; capital vegetables and beef that cost the British Government three farthings per pound, and was better in quality than the sailors had seen out of England.

Then on to Tampassuk, the haunt of the Illanuns that had destroyed Ambong, where the squadron came in sight of a large prahu that Brooke recognized immediately as an Illanun war vessel. Its crew pulled for their lives, but the *Phlegethon* stood in between them and the shore, and three

boats being despatched, the Illanuns gave in. The prahu was sixty feet long, and carried one long 12-pounder and two brass 6-pounder swivels, being crowded besides with double handed swords, spears and krises. She was rigged for sixty oars, with regular boarding nettings. There were but twenty men and the captain on board, for the stern sheets were filled by a large bier, on which rested a massive teak coffin handsomely decorated.

Brought on deck and asked why he carried so many arms, the chief made answer—

"I am an Illanun, and a pirate chief. I sailed from hence with four other vessels on a cruise. One of the officers died, and with a portion of my crew I am now bringing him home for proper burial."

"Did the officer die a natural death?"

"Yes."

Orders were then given to open the coffin, when the remains of a body, evidently killed after a desperate struggle, were discovered. The pirate chief now confessed angrily that he had spoken falsely as to the natural death, and that they had been fighting with some Balanini prahus.

At this juncture there stepped forward from among the crew of the *Phlegethon* a Spaniard rescued from slavery by Sir Thomas Cochrane the year before, and declared that among the crew of the prahu he recognised the man who had captured him, and had murdered the master of the Spanish vessel to which he belonged; and on further examination, two Spaniards were found in the prahu, whose story was that they had been taken off the Manilla coast, and compelled to work as slaves.

Orders were then given to handcuff the chief and his followers, an indignity which the proud Illanun would not brook, but jumping overboard with all his people, endeavoured to reach the shore. They were caught, brought back and put in irons, and were subsequently sent to the Spanish Government of Manilla with the rescued Spaniards.

In the afternoon Brooke accompanied the Admiral and an

armed party of "Agincourts" on shore, when they met the chief Illanun leader, Sa Tabok, and told him that by destroying Ambong for furnishing supplies he had broken the agreement entered into the previous year; but that if within twenty-four hours he and the other chiefs would come on board the *Agincourt*, and give assurances of good faith in the future, the offence would be passed over; otherwise his town would be destroyed.

To this Sa Tabok made answer that he was aware that he had offended against the document he had received the year before, which document, however, he had taken care of, and his visitors might see it. It ran as follows—

"The seal of the Raja Laut (Admiral) who guards the seas, who fosters trade, and punishes pirates; this order comes to the people of Tampassuk and Pandassan, to tell them that if any of the Illanuns living there should pirate in future it will be contrary to the commands of the Raja Muda Hassim, and the English Admiral will come with all his ships, and utterly destroy the pirates. August, 1845."

As to coming on board the *Agincourt* and promising to behave better, Sa Tabok really could not say that he would, in spite of the assurances of the Raja Laut and the Raja Brooke that he should be re-landed in safety.

The twenty-four hours of grace passed, and no submissive chiefs arriving, Captain M'Quhae of the *Dædalus* was sent into the river with a force of 250 men to destroy the war prahus and canoes, and burn the town, unless the chiefs came to terms. But chiefs and people, not waiting to be spoken to, moved *en masse* slowly back into the jungle, uttering the wildest yells as they saw the flames devouring their forsaken property. Captain Mundy meanwhile had gone to Pandassan, a town on a river of the same name, about ten miles further north, inhabited by Illanuns. He describes it as a beautiful river, about four hundred feet wide at the entrance, and with banks clothed with verdure that brought Mount Edgecome to his mind. As a background to all views from the sea on this part of the coast there rises the peak of Kina Bellu, the

highest mountain in all Borneo. Captain Mundy's orders were to try first to get an interview with the chiefs, and if possible to bring them to reason; failing this, to destroy the prahus and the town. As at Tampassuk, the entire population fled, and nothing was found but empty houses. Piles of English ballast lay about on one of the quays, marked "Carter and Caithness," a ship's bell, some English cords, powder, and large stores of native arms. The intention was to have marched overland to join Captain M'Quhae at Tampassuk, but the soil was so heavy from recent rains that the Admiral, who had come up in person, changed his plan, and after some shots interchanged between the British advanced guard and the rear of the native force, the former returned to the fleet, leaving marks of their presence in the destruction of the buildings and boats.

After this a prahu, returning home unconscious of the presence of enemies, and which made a bold stand, was captured; and then, August 4th, the squadron came to anchor in Malludu Bay, the scene of last year's fight, where all was found deserted; and August 7th, after another prahu had been captured, the Admiral went on his way to China with the *Dædalus*, *Ringdove*, and *Royalist*, while the Raja moved to the *Iris*, which was to take him back to Saráwak.

Hadji Saman had, however, first to be punished. Looking in again at Ambong, the *Iris* was received with open arms, and much traffic done as before in flesh, fowls, and vegetables, during which the people were eager in their inquiries as to the possibility of a trade with Singapore.

When out at sea once more a large prahu, bearing numerous white flags, came with a letter from the Orang Kaya of Kimanis, to say that Hadji Saman was entrenching himself six miles from that town, up the river Mambakūt, and sending threatening messages. A promise was returned in consequence that the *Iris* would come as soon as the wind allowed. This happened August 14th, when, reaching Kimanis, they found the *Phlegethon* already there. Hadji Saman had given out that he was prepared to resist. The

country, however, was by no means prepared to join him, and when Brooke's presence became known, several chiefs, ruling between Kimanis and Ambong, came to see him and tell him that they all hoped for an honest trade, and would strive to bring it about. They were encouraged, and told to come with their men on the following day, when Hadji Saman would be attacked.

The next day there was a great gathering: about forty war prahus, carrying five hundred men, and armed with thirty brass swivels, arrived, the chiefs *en grande tenue* in honour of the Raja, and all telling him that they wished to make a treaty of friendship and commerce with England. Was it treachery, thought Captain Mundy; and to his not unnatural inquiry, Brooke made answer that as many of them came from places he had never known he could not possibly answer, but any way, he intended to trust himself among them; and landing, he sat down on the shore, got the leaders round him, and instructed them in their duties. They were to let the British boats advance up the river, and then to keep the retreat open. This arranged, the boats of the *Iris* advanced, followed close by those of the *Phlegethon*, and at a short distance by the native allies. After pulling for three hours against a strong ebb, they encountered heavy rafts of bamboo, then a turn in the river disclosed a line of bamboo stakes and an immense boom; facing these, a small fort which opened fire, and where the natives recognised Hadji Saman. As usual, after a show of resistance, the enemy decamped, and the expedition passed on up the river—"the scenery," writes Captain Mundy, "increasing in beauty, and the banks becoming richer in cultivation. Each house had a garden neatly fenced round, and in regular beds, systematically sown, I observed lettuces, cabbages, onions, etc., so exactly similar to the Chinese arrangements that I believe Chinese prisoners must have laid them out. The interior of the houses was extremely neat: mats, threshing and knitting machines, culinary implements, and other furniture in capital order; and had it not been for the numberless human skulls

pendant from every apartment, and suspended from the ceiling in regular festoons, with the thigh and arm bones occupying the intervening spaces, I should have believed myself in a civilized land."

That evening, after destroying Hadji Saman's empty house, they bivouacked at a little village with a plain at its rear, also deserted; and here Brooke, feeling anything but well, stretched himself supperless for the night, on a bamboo flooring, with a bundle of faggots for pillow, and myriads of insects for company. Through the whole night Hadji Saman's people yelled, and one of them deserting came to the river-side, and shouted in Malay that he wished to join the force. "If you are a true man, jump into the river and swim to us, and you shall be taken care of," answered a native chief, whereupon he arrived and brought word that the Hadji was in great consternation, which was very probable intelligence.

The next day Brooke was better, and they went on again as far as the river was navigable, and then returned. There was a desultory skirmishing, and some flights of poisoned arrows from sumpitans, and the Raja and Captain Mundy had a rather narrow escape from a bullet that came between them as they sat together in a boat which the Raja was steering. The new allies, in return for their services, were feasted on board the *Iris*, when Brooke remained with them half through the night, listening with an imperturbable countenance to the oft-repeated tales of their achievements in this grand campaign. Before separating, he drew up a bond, which the chiefs readily signed, pledging themselves in solemn league and covenant to protect each other against their piratical neighbours, swearing also to protect the persons and property of shipwrecked or distressed Europeans. This done, the Raja was taken by the *Phlegethon* to Bruné, where his proceedings are described to Mr. Templer:—

"The hour is ten o'clock of the 24th August, 1846, the place the cabin of the steamer *Phlegethon*, off the river Bruné; the deck is a perfect menagerie of old women and children, who

scream and roar unceasingly. Never was a place less fitted for writing, yet I have a great desire to tell you all my proceedings since I last wrote. All these women and children, amounting to forty persons, slaves included, are the unhappy survivors of Muda Hassim's family, whom I have at length rescued from the power of their barbarous but now frightened relative. Muda Hassim's young son is sitting laughing by my side, and I feel that I have done all that remains to be done to rescue his life, and to place him in an independent position for his poor father's sake. You must know that the Admiral, when he learned the murder of the family and the manifestations of hostility by the Sultan, thought it a fit ground for inquiry, and in consequence we went with a squadron off the place, and with two steamers ascended the river. The Sultan fired directly we shewed ourselves, and of course lost his forts and his town, and fled into the interior. For a fortnight we hunted him, and tried to patch up a provisional government; but not being able to catch our fugitive, the Admiral gave them a long written lecture, in the shape of a manifesto, told them to be good boys, and so we sailed for the northward. The *Hazard* during my absence had been left to guard the city, and on my (second) arrival I found affairs just as I left them, viz., the Sultan in the jungle, and the government in the hands of Pangeran Mumim—not a bad man, but wanting in decision, and fearful of acting for fear of compromising himself. The Admiral's manifesto had had a good effect on the people; but whilst the greater portion desired protection, and certainly were not implicated in the massacre, they feared the consequences which might result on our departure and the Sultan's return.

"I had only three days to stop in Brunê, and I therefore resolved to meet to a certain degree any advances his Majesty might think proper to make. I did this, first, because he was the Sultan, and I hardly could take on myself to depose him; secondly, because he is a fool, and acted upon; thirdly, because the substantial ends of policy and justice would be more likely to be attained. For these good reasons, I sent

a message to the Sultan, to intimate that he might return to his own city, and that I would be answerable for his safety there; and in answer I received a humble letter, laying his throne and kingdom at my feet. The next day he arrived at Bruné, and took up his quarters at Pangeran Mumim's house. He requested pardon and an interview. Pardon, I replied, was only to be received from our Queen, upon whose flag he had fired, and that I must decline any personal interview, until he had brought the murderers of the family of Muda Hassim to justice, and until I was convinced that he proposed to rule with justice, and call good advisers to his assistance: at the same time I added that he ought to ratify all the agreements he had previously made. The consequence of this was that he addressed a humble letter to the Queen, ratifying the two former engagements, and taking the most humble tone and position, re-gave me Saráwak, with the seals of Pangerans Muda Mahommed and Mumim besides his own as a guarantee; and lastly, at my request, as a matter of policy, he granted me the right of working coal. I had no authority to ask this for Government, and the Sultan objected to giving it to any one else, so I was obliged to draw it out in my own name; but of course, should the Government wish it, it is at their disposal, for I have no use for it myself, nor is it of any value to me, and in getting it I was acting on the chance that they might desire it or transfer it. If not, it is so much waste paper.

"The next step was that I forced the Sultan (though he did not object) to pay royal honours at the graves of his murdered relatives; and, after all, I declined an interview on the former grounds, and left it to Mumim to see justice done upon the defenders and disturbers of the best Government Bruné has known for a long time. Lastly, I got almost all the family aboard this morning at three o'clock, and am now on the way to Saráwak, where I hope to be three days hence. As a man who has more money than he can spend says, 'it will cost me a pretty penny' assisting this miserable family, but it is a duty in my position.

At Kuching, houses were built for the survivors from the massacre, and right well did the poor things appreciate their freedom from fear and anxiety. In August, Captain Mundy again visited Brunė, when the Sultan immediately retired to his country house, thereby escaping some good advice. Mumim, however, received his visitor, though his hand trembled, as, taking the captain's, he apologised for the peculiarities of his relative. Captain Mundy replied encouragingly, and said he would call again in a month's time. On his way south more chiefs came on board, to say that they had heard of the confederation Raja Brooke was forming, and they wished to join it. In September, true to his word, Captain Mundy returned to Brunė, and this time the Sultan found himself more equal to the occasion. At the interview which took place a large wax taper was lighted as a witness to the pureness of his heart and of the oath which he was ready to make of his good-will to his sister the Queen of England. Captain Mundy spoke gravely of the firing on the British flag, etc.; and the Sultan made answer that he had told Hadji Saman not to fire, etc., and made accusation further against eight more of his great men, of whom the captain knew nothing, but took comfort in supposing Brooke would, and assured the Sultan that it would give him pleasure to take to Saráwak any letter he liked to send the Raja. Mumim was in good spirits during this visit; the people made a gala day of it, and Captain Mundy came away with the conviction that Brooke was at that moment virtually the ruler of seven hundred miles of Bornean coast.

A large prahu reached the *Iris* next day, with letters for the Raja and the Admiral, and for Captain Mundy a gold-handled kris as a remembrance, thereby putting that gallant officer in a difficulty, from which he extricated himself right well. The bearer, who was our old friend Illudeen, was taken as a witness of how carefully the dagger was put away and locked up till the English captain should come again, when, if he found the Sultan surrounded by good men and governing well, he would take it out and prize it most highly, otherwise

return it to the donor, as he should consider he had been treated with intentional disrespect.

In Saráwak Captain Mundy tells us he found the Raja relating the story of recent events to some of his inland chiefs, who listened with delight and astonishment, never damped by the reflection that he might be weary of telling the same tale to each fresh party, none being satisfied till they had seen him and heard the story from his own mouth.

The *Iris* could not remain long, but as she sailed away her captain hoped to be able to come again. It seemed to him that Raja Brooke was a man his country should be proud of—a man who had done and was doing a great work; and he was therefore glad to return in December with a despatch from Lord Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary, and orders to take possession of the island of Labuan after consultation with the Raja of Sarawak.

No mention was made of any payment, and as they discussed the matter Brooke predicted opposition from many of the pangerans to an absolutely free cession. The words of the treaty of November, 1844, stated that the Sultan was "willing to cede the island of Labuan and the adjacent islets on such terms as may hereafter be arranged by any person duly appointed."

It was impossible to refer home, while no discretionary power was given, and as events subsequent to the treaty might be held to abrogate it, Captain Mundy, on reaching Brunéin the *Iris*, informed the Sultan that as the price of forgiveness for having fired on the British flag, and in return for our undertaking to suppress piracy, and protect lawful commerce, Labuan would be accepted; and after much demur and talk of money, the opposing pangerans were overruled by the Sultan, who farther offered to be himself present on the occasion of taking possession, although, being a very bad sailor, he hoped he might be excused. And excused he was. Pangeran Mumim came, however; and on Christmas Eve, 1846, Labuan and the adjacent islets became part of the British Empire. Of course everybody cheered as the Union

Jack was run up; and of course there was a dinner, at which Mumim was the principal guest, while humbly in the background stood the would-be pangerans who had vainly tried to deceive the Raja, no longer in borrowed clothing, and content to pick up the rejected morsels that Mumim from time to time tossed over to them.

While this was going on, Brooke had been conveyed by the *Hazard* to Singapore, to discuss the state of the Archipelago as affecting English interests with Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, who was on the eve of return home.

A letter to Mr. Templer, written before leaving Saráwak, gives a view of the condition of that country—

"*December* 6, 1846.—Now that Labuan is decided on, there is little more to say or do till that measure is complete, and with Keppel as governor, or in command of a frigate, I can have nothing more to desire at present. Keep in mind, however, and represent that a character of permanency is requisite to develop the trade of a settlement, and that as a mere naval station it will not possess that character, so that the sooner it passes into the Colonial Office the better.

"Here we are quiet, and have not since my return been troubled by our neighbours of Sarebus and Sakarran, but during my absence in Brunė, Makota, Sheriff Jaffir, and a few others of the piratical set once in power, got up a report of the defeat of the squadron and the death of the Admiral and myself; and by this means they stirred up the Sakarrans and Sarebus to muster in force, with the avowed purpose of attacking Saráwak, but probably the real one of pillaging some weak Dyak tribes—for these gentry do not like two to play at the same game, and prefer plunder and heads to blows of honour. The Sakarrans are distressed, but too proud to yield yet; the Sarebus have been more leniently dealt with, and are consequently more mischievous; and the best way will be to drive both tribes well up their rivers, and then turn the operations into a blockade. The want of salt especially, of iron and other necessaries, will drive them into surrender, and then I shall not trust them till they have paid

such a sum in jars* and captives as they will never pay unless forced by the direct necessity. I have demanded a hundred jars from Sakarran and a hundred captives; I shall demand the same from Sarebus. The captives of Saráwak and other places will be liberated of course, and the jars, *when we get them*, can be exchanged for other captives. All these schemes are *in petto*, but I believe a little resolution and obstinacy would bring them to terms.

"Makota has withdrawn to some distance, and I hope to shove him on to Bruné, which will make a very excellent penal settlement, considering so many rogues and vagabonds inhabit there already.

"The intrigue was natural enough, for I cannot expect these men, under any circumstances, to forgive me for having dethroned them from their high places. I know the heart and the feeling of this people too well to be misled for an instant by fine words, by promises or oaths. They are wicked and unforgiving—they regret their loss of power—blush at their defeat, and would do me a mischief if they knew how. They are, however, but a broken bundle of sticks; I shall disperse them more before I have done with them, and I believe I am as astute honestly as they are dishonestly."

Of letters to his own family written this year (1846), here is one of June 14th, to the Rev. F. C. Johnson—

"You are the kindest of all kind correspondents, and I assure you your letters continue to interest and to cheer me. The two last were dated February 25th, and March 6th, the former being our dear Mary Anna's birthday. I trust she

* As soon as a Dyak acquires a little wealth he invests it in the purchase of jars, brass swivels, or gongs. The jars, which they prize with superstitious reverence, are brown glazed earthenware, about three feet high, exactly the shape of Chinese jars, and many of them stamped with the Chinese imperial dragon. The Dyaks can give no account of their origin, but suppose them to be the work of hantus (spirits). The cost of the dragon jars is about 70 reals. Those not impressed with the dragon are called rusa or deer jars, and are valued at about 30 reals, but there are others peculiarly sacred, which fetch much higher prices, some of them being valued even at 800 reals.—*Sketches in Borneo*, by the Rev. A. Horsburgh, M.A.

may live happily to enjoy many years, and that her parents for twenty years to come may be the witnesses of her prosperity."

"I am glad Brooke has joined his regiment, for the idle life in England can be of no service, and may breed a fondness for Bath and a dislike of military duty. I hope he will not think of leaving the army or going on half-pay when he gets his company; and as for joining me here, it is, as you will know, from recent circumstances, quite out of the question. Not but that I should like much to have him, but unless I could insure him £500 a year permanently, it would be imprudent and might injure his future prospects. I have myself run the risk, but I should be very sorry to induce one of my nephews to participate it with me. When I am a little more settled, if you and Emma and young ladies all like to pay me a visit, it really might be managed, provided I cannot come to you. If Mahommed can't come to the mountain, the mountain must come to Mahommed. I propose writing to Brooke by this mail, and will give him a good deal of *Uncley* advice which will not be unpleasant. Charley will about this time be sailing for England, and my next letter to him I shall direct to Singapore. I am almost glad he is going home for many good reasons, but his being near and the hope of seeing him from time to time were cheering to me.

"I am glad Keppel's book has succeeded so well. I attribute it in some measure to the evidently new materials of which it is mainly composed. I have left off keeping a Journal at present because *it is a bore!* Should I, however, move about again, I may resume it, but our daily routine allows no scope for interest. I make you a very humble bow, however, for all your kind praise, and for the profound attention you have bestowed on the book. The reviews, especially the *Foreign Quarterly*, and *Blackwood* speak very highly of it and me. Fifteen or twenty years ago I should have valued all this sort of thing more than I do now. What is the use of fame, praise, and distinction, when one is past forty years of age?"

A P.S. runs—"My dearest sister, I consider it as one

thing writing to Charles or yourself, so, dear lady, I only add this brief P.S. to assure you of my unfailing love and constant remembrance of you, not only at this time present, but through a course of years and affection from the time of our Reigate holidays downwards."

CHAPTER XVIII.

1846—1849.

From the time of Brooke's arrival in Malayan waters the Netherlands Government had watched his proceedings with an increasing distrust, and in December, 1845, their Minister, Mons. Dedel, wrote to the Earl of Aberdeen, then Foreign Secretary for England, declaring that it was a breach of the Treaty of 1824 that "le Sieur Brooke" should receive "du Sultan de Borneo Proper, sous la sanction de son Gouvernement, l'investiture du domaine de Saráwak." To this Lord Aberdeen replied, December 10th, without directly disavowing the sanction of his Government asserted by Mons. Dedel, that, "With respect to the proceedings of Mr. Brooke in his private capacity, her Majesty's Government, in forming a judgment of their nature, must be allowed to take into consideration the character which that gentleman bears, etc. For eight years past that gentleman has resided in Borneo; the property which he has acquired has been obtained in the most legitimate and open manner; and all his efforts have been directed to the furtherance of civilization, to the discouragement of piratical pursuits, and to the promotion of the welfare of the native population. Had Mr. Brooke during that time been guilty of any acts hostile to the legitimate interests or influence of Holland, the undersigned cannot doubt that the Netherlands Government would have brought such conduct to the knowledge of her Majesty's Ministers; but the only charge which that Government can at the present moment allege against Mr.

Brooke, is that he is not favourably disposed to the extension of Dutch influence in the part where he has acquired possessions."

Lord Aberdeen would not allow that the Treaty of 1824 had been infringed, and, regarding the operations of our naval forces, stated that, with one exception, they were undertaken "only on the fullest proofs that the parties against whom they were directed were actually and habitually pirates."

The operations referred to had been directed against Sarebus, by Captain Keppel, in 1843; Sakarran, by the same, in 1844; and the Illanuns of Makuda Bay, by Admiral Sir T. Cochrane, in 1845.

The exception alluded to by Lord Aberdeen was the Sultan of Tidor, a vassal of the Netherlands, in 1844, with which Raja Brooke had no connection.

The reply not being considered satisfactory, Mons. Dedel wrote again, March 20, 1846. His Government did not complain of the operations against the pirates.

"Il parait que la nécessité de mettre un terme à la piraterie qui s'exerce sur une vaste échelle tout le long de la côte septentrionale de Borneo, a décidé le Gouvernement Britannique à prendre à main armée des mesures repressives, et en même temps à se prévaloir de l'offre faite par le Sultan de Borneo Proper de céder à la Grande Bretagne l'Ile de Labuan, afin d'y établir une station navale.

"Le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas, loin de voir dans les dernières expéditions armées de la marine Anglaise une infraction soit au Traité de 1824, soit à la souveraineté ou à la suzeraineté Néerlandaise dans ces parages, considère ces expéditions comme parfaitement légitimes, et se réjouit sincèrement, dans les intérêts du commerce et de la civilisation des deux nations, du succès glorieux que les a couronnées. Le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas croit que la partie de Borneo qui a été le théâtre de ces exploits, est parfaitement indépendante de tout Pouvoir Européen."

Mons. Dedel thought it would have been more courteous to have consulted with the Netherlands Government on the

subject of the suppression of piracy. That Government would always be found willing to co-operate, and it proposed to conclude a convention with the Court of London for a systematic course of action to this end.

Regarding "le Sieur Brooke," the Netherlands Government could not but look on an English settlement in the Island of Borneo as being in opposition to the Treaty of 1824, inasmuch as it would inevitably lead to continual collision, and renew a state of things which the Treaty was intended to have rendered impossible.

"Le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas ne s'est pas cru en droit de s'opposer à ce que le Sieur Brooke s'établit comme simple locataire ou fermier du Sultan à Saráwak. Il ne se dissimulait pas les désagréments qui, vu la contiguité de ce district avec la province Néerlandaise de Sambas, pouvaient résulter de la présence d'un Européen établi en autorité à Saráwak; mais cette possibilité ne lui paraissai pas une raison suffisante pour empêcher le Sultan de Borneo Proper d'exercer la prérogative qu'il possède indubitablement d'affermer une partie de ses Etats à qui bon lui semble. Mais la situation n'est plus la même. Il parait que Mr. Brooke a obtenu une cession à perpétuité du territoire qu'il pendant deux années tenu en bail. Son Excellence le Comte d'Aberdeen reconnait en outre que ce cessionaire perpétuel vient d'être revêtu d'un caractère officiel par Sa Majesté Britannique. Si, donc, Saráwak n'est pas encore de droit un établissement Anglais, dans le sens ordinaire de ces mots, il l'est cependant par le fait qu'il existe un concours de circonstances qui peut à chaque instant exposer le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas à voir se renouveler les mêmes désagréments et les mêmes collisions auxquels il avait espéré que le Traité de 1824 avait imposé u nterme à jamais."

No objection was made to the possession of Labuan. The tenor of other portions of the despatch may be sufficiently gathered from Lord Aberdeen's reply.

This is dated, May 4, 1846. In it the Foreign Secretary regretted to inform Mons. Dedel, that her Majesty's Govern-

ment could not acquiesce in his interpretation of the Treaty, viz., "that there should be no joint occupation by the two Powers of different portions of one and the same country."

"After the most mature consideration her Majesty's Government have decided that there is nothing in the Treaty of 1824 to prevent the formation of British settlements in the districts of the Indian Archipelago from which Great Britain is not in terms excluded by the Treaty, or in which the Netherlands Government does not possess vested and acknowledged rights."

Regarding Mr. Brooke, and an assertion made by Mons. Dedel, that a voyage taken nominally for scientific objects had been unfairly turned to political ends, Lord Aberdeen remarks—

"The undersigned cannot agree in the observation made by Mons. Dedel, with respect to the part subsequently taken by Mr. Brooke in the affairs of Saráwak; for her Majesty's Government do not entertain the slightest doubt that the original object of Mr. Brooke's voyage to the Eastern Seas was simply and solely to make himself better acquainted with regions which he had previously casually visited, and which had excited his interest in an unusual degree. In order, however, to make this expedition useful to others as well as interesting to himself, Mr. Brooke coupled with his own original plans the higher object of scientific examination of the little-known and neglected regions he was about to visit. That this was his object and pursuit is sufficiently evident from his private Journal, written without the slightest view to future publication, a great portion of which has recently appeared in an account of the expedition of one of her Majesty's cruisers against the pirates of Borneo.

"As regards Mr. Brooke's position in Saráwak, her Majesty's Government must look upon that position not as the result of a premeditated scheme, but of unforeseen emergencies, in which he has been enabled to exercise great energy, temper, and singleness of purpose, without on that account having made himself justly liable to the reproach of any one. The undersigned, in expressing to Mons. Dedel these the convictions

of her Majesty's Government, must at the same time state his satisfaction that the Netherlands Government is disposed to do justice to Mr. Brooke's conduct since his possession of Saráwak; and he ventures to hope that the experience of continued rectitude of purpose and action on Mr. Brooke's part will induce the Government of the Netherlands for the future to deal less in vague accusation with respect to this gentleman than, to the regret of the undersigned, they have hitherto been disposed to do."

With reference to the want of courtesy, a letter from Mons. Dedel of August 27, 1844, had admitted "the utter inadequacy of the efforts of the Netherlands Government to control the ferocity of the native inhabitants," even in certain parts of the Archipelago which they yet claimed as their territory: and Lord Aberdeen in his letter of the 10th of December, 1845, had stated that in such parts the British Government would protect their own subjects.

Regarding the proposed convention—

"This declaration on the part of the Netherlands Government of their readiness to co-operate with the Government of her Majesty for the suppression of piracy, has been received with the greatest satisfaction, and whenever a proper occasion for combined action may arise, the commanders of her Majesty's naval forces will most gladly avail themselves of the assistance of any Netherlands cruisers which may be within reach, and which may have been furnished with instructions to that effect. They must, however, decline to enter into engagements which, far from promoting the attainment of their object, would, in their opinion, make the movements of the naval forces of either party dependent on those of the forces of the other; and might, by crippling their independent action, be productive of great inconvenience in cases where rapid and decisive measures are required for the repression of wrong.

"Her Majesty's Government greatly deplore the opinion expressed by the Netherlands Government that the residence near their possessions of a British subject, whose conduct in the position he at present occupies they admit to have been

irreproachable, must of necessity lead to complications between the two Governments; and the undersigned begs to assure M. Dedel that no precaution on the part of her Majesty shall be wanting to prevent the possible occurrence of the anticipated evil, and that the strictest orders shall be given in this respect to the several British authorities in the Eastern Seas; but her Majesty's Government cannot allow any apprehension of the possible occurrence of such complications to interfere with their paramount duty of protecting the just rights and legitimate interests of her Majesty's subjects. If it be, however, really the wish of the Netherlands Government finally to put an end to the jealousies and dissensions which they anticipate, the undersigned would ask whether such object might not be more easily accomplished by rendering the policy of the Netherlands Government in the Eastern Seas more conformable to the commercial spirit of the day and to the customs of other nations."

The correspondence is fuller than the above extracts and summary may seem to imply; it was published for the House of Commons in 1854, and can therefore be referred to. In July, 1846, on the defeat of Sir Robert Peel's Government, Lord Palmerston succeeded Lord Aberdeen as Foreign Secretary, and the latter filled no office in the Ministry then formed by Lord John Russell.

To return now to Raja Brooke. From Singapore he proceeded to Penang, where Captain Mundy found him (January 28, 1847), in the garden of Government House, botanizing with Sir T. Cochrane. Rear-Admiral Inglefield, who was to succeed as Admiral of the station, being daily expected, Brooke remained to meet him. In February came a letter from the Sultan of Bruné to say that he had taken Hadji Saman prisoner, and would keep him so until he heard what the British Admiral and the Raja wished done with him: to whom answer was returned that, so far as British feelings were concerned, bygones were now bygones, and good behaviour in the future would wipe out the past.

In the end of March Admiral Inglefield arrived, and shortly afterwards the Raja sailed to Singapore, where he prepared additional articles to a treaty which had been forwarded to him by the British Government for the arrangement of commercial relations with Borneo. This is referred to in a letter to Mr. Templer, dated Government House, Singapore, May 1, 1847—

"We will, God willing, talk over all subjects, past, present, and future, next September; for I have resolved, as surely as a reasonable animal in my position can resolve, to come home by the packet which leaves this the beginning of July. Many reasons induce me: my friends urge me, and the position of affairs in Saráwak and Brunê presents, as far as I can see, no serious obstacle. I hope, or flatter myself, I may have some influence to urge on Ministers the necessity of a decided course for the suppression of piracy. It can be put down if we pursue a steady course instead of making mere convulsive efforts. Sarebus and Sakarran would soon yield before a constant gentle pressure. Sulu, the great nucleus and slave-market, must be detached or crushed. I laugh at half measures as applied to such an evil; we might as well apply mesmerism.

"I did not mean to write politics; but here I have plunged into the midst. Saráwak will be safe during my absence, for the natives are attached to me, by the very best of all ties—self-interest. I am, directly my treaty can be got ready, ordered to proceed to Bruné, to get the Sultan's signature appended thereto, and I anticipate no difficulty.

"Whilst the translations are preparing I have not hesitated to despatch the *Nemesis* in search of a large pirate fleet which is cruising about Lingin and Banca Straits. The Dutch authorities reported it here, and the account is confirmed by several natives from that part of the world. Rumour says that the fleet consists of eighty prahus of a large size, from Sulu and its vicinity, that they have captured very many traders, and engaged twice a Dutch gun-boat, without sustaining defeat; moreover, that they passed, in bravado, in

front of the small Dutch station, Mintow, on Banca, so near that an American merchant ship fired at them from the anchorage.

"I have nothing else to tell you. I will not revert to any painful subject, but look steadily forward to our meeting. Now that the idea has once got into my head, it daily grows in intensity."

The *Nemesis*, a steamer belonging to the Indian Government, conveyed the Raja to Labuan in the middle of May, where, in Victoria Harbour, he found H.M.S. *Columbine* and *Royalist;* and then, being joined by their commanders, Captain Charles Grey and Lieutenant Gordon, and with a small escort of marines, Bruné was visited, and the Sultan's seal affixed to the treaty. Hardly was this over when (May 30th), as the *Nemesis* was leaving her anchorage to convey the Raja to Saráwak, she was hailed by a canoe and informed that they had been chased by a fleet of pirates into Bruné River the previous evening. Full steam was immediately put on, and rounding Moarra Point, the pirate vessels, eleven in number, were seen chasing a fishing-boat, which was making hard for Labuan. The sight of the steamer stopped the pursuit, and the prahus pulled away over Moarra Shoal, where there was not depth for the *Nemesis* to follow, and a long round had to be made first. This done, a nearer view showed the Raja that they were Balaninis, sea-robbers by profession. Choosing the best place for defence, the prahus, when close to Pilungan Island, anchored in line with their heads to seaward, and, united by hawsers, awaited the steamer's approach. The *Nemesis* meanwhile lowered a boat on the chance of a parley, on which the pirates opened fire, and a *Nemesis* man was killed. The fire was at once returned by the steamer, but a heavy ground swell sent most of the round shot into the jungle, and after two hours her crew took to their boats for closer quarters. The Balaninis fought desperately, but at length two prahus were taken, six lay on the beach deserted, and the remainder, taking advantage of a sudden breeze, crowded all sail and bore off, followed by the *Nemesis*.

No sooner had the steamer borne off than the pirates that had fled into the jungle, returning in force, re-manned five prahus, launched them rapidly, and put out to sea, fighting as they went. Captain Gray, who commanded the boats, being overmatched, the *Nemesis* returned to his support, when the Balaninis gave up fighting and pulled off, pursued till night-fall, by which time three prahus were captured. The largest mounted six guns and carried fifty men. All were protected by flat musket-proof boards. In number the Balaninis were reckoned at 350; their loss was about sixty; not one would suffer himself to be taken alive. About a hundred captives were released from the captured prahus, where they were found bound with rattans.

That evening the *Nemesis* anchored off Labuan. On the following morning a flotilla of boats arrived from Brunė; the Sultan having heard the cannonade and wishing to take part in the action. By them the Raja sent back word that as many of the freed captives would probably find their way to Brunė he would trust them to his care; in consequence of which message the Sultan did, according to his lights, receive them with real kindness. When some Balaninis were brought in as prisoners he bethought him of arming the liberated men and desiring them to take their own revenge on their late masters. This, however, they refused to do, preferring to leave it to him.

These Balaninis formed part of the fleet of which warning had been sent to Singapore by the Dutch. They were now at the end of a year's cruise, during which they greatly desired to make a raid on Saráwak, but wiser counsels had prevailed.

In June, Brooke was again at Kuching, where all was peaceful. No reason appeared to prevent his departure for a longer period; and, making arrangements for the Government during his absence, he returned to Singapore, and left by the July mail for England. After a provoking detention of a month at Galle, which threw out a plan of meeting the Templers at Marseilles, but gave him time to look up two *Castle*

Huntley friends in Ceylon, he reached Southampton, October 2nd, there to find a little company of his own kindred, together with the Hon. Captain Keppel and Captain Mundy, waiting to give him a welcome home; four days later he was in London with Mr. Templer.

Nine years had passed since those two had met, years full of such adventure as satisfied even James Brooke—years of an unceasing struggle against anarchy, injustice, and oppression—a struggle in which he had bound to himself, with an affection that was akin to worship, the hearts of those against whom as well as for whom he had fought.

And now came honours!

As outward marks of confidence honestly won, and therefore felt to be deserved, and as the pledge that confidence so manifested will not lightly be removed, honours must be welcome, and as such Raja Brooke received them.

Here is a letter to his niece Mary Anna Johnson, dated Windsor Castle, October 25, 1847. It is written in the playful mood that he was always ready to fall into, and that of all others seems most natural to him and most to bring him back to those who knew him best.

"I know, my dear Mary, that all you young ladies will be dying of curiosity to hear all about my visit here, and I hasten, therefore, to tell you that I am sitting in a room—a very comfortable room—with a good fire, a neat bedstead, and every other comfort and luxury which a gentleman could desire. I am sitting in this said room writing to my dear niece, and I much regret to say I have not met with one single adventure, nor have I seen one person's face since being in this celebrated Castle, excepting Prince Albert's valet-de-chambre, who is a very well-spoken, well-dressed civil gentleman, at which circumstance I am rather astonished, as I had always entertained an idea—a very vague and indistinct one—that all subordinate persons in all palaces were addicted to insolence and vain-glory.

"Thus, my dear girl, you have the wonderful and entire history of all the events which have befallen me since I arrived, and, as the time draws towards half-past seven, I must lay down my pen, and dress for dinner.

"By-the-bye, I asked the civil and well-spoken valet (whom you must know is a German) what dress it was strictly proper to appear in, and he very discreetly informed me that a black or blue coat, white waistcoat, white cravat, tight pantaloons with black stockings, was the right thing, your shoes without buckles, and neither hat nor gloves!!

"Heaven help me! how little I dreamed once that I should ever think of dress more! How little I thought in my wildest imagination that I should be here, her Majesty's guest! So let us say with all our hearts, God bless the Queen! I will go on to-morrow morning if I have time.

"*26th.*—Three minutes before eight the Groom of the Chambers ushered me from my apartment in the York Tower; conducted me along a splendid gallery, resplendent with lights, and pictures, and statues, decorated with golden ornaments, the richest carpets, and bouquets of fresh flowers; and ushered me into a drawing-room as fair as mortal eye could wish to see. Directly afterwards Lady Westmoreland and Lady Peel, with Lord Westmoreland and Sir Robert, entered with the Lord-in-Waiting (Lord Morley), equerries, and grooms. Then came the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, etc., etc.; and, last, the doors were thrown wide open and the Queen and Prince Albert and the Duchess of Kent were ushered in, attended by the Court ladies. I had to kiss hands on my presentation. Her Majesty said very sweetly that she was happy to make my acquaintance. I bowed to the ground. The Queen took the arm of the Prince and led the way to the dining-room. I handed out Lady Emily Seymour. The music played; the lights glittered, reflected from golden ornaments. The hall was splendid; the sideboard resplendent. What shall I say of the dinner? The plate, the crockery, all befitting Royalty, and neither coldness nor stiffness. The Queen was seated between Prince Albert on one side and the Duke of Bedford

on the other. After dinner we all stood, and Her Majesty conversed first with the Duke of Bedford, then with Sir Robert Peel, and lastly with myself. She said all that was kind, talked with me for nearly ten minutes, and then we returned to the drawing-room. Prince Albert likewise honoured me with a long conversation. The Duke of Bedford talked to me. Sir Robert Peel shook me by the hand and said I was no stranger to him; I was presented to Lady Peel *et hoc genus omne*.

"Such are my adventures, my dear Mary; and in return I beg of you not to let one person read or see this letter, excepting our own families of Lackington, Cheltenham, and Hillingdon. Farewell! It is now nearly time to go to chapel, after which I breakfast with the equerries and start for London. I may conclude by saying that, highly honoured as I have been, delighted and pleased, yet I shall be glad when it is over."

After this her Majesty the Queen further showed her goodwill and approbation by making the Raja Knight Commander of the Bath; and other distinctions were accorded. The freedom of the City of London was presented to him in the presence of one of the largest assemblies ever remembered in the Guildhall. The Goldsmiths' and Fishmongers' Companies followed suit. Of Clubs, the United Service, that had never before admitted any but officers of the army and navy; the Junior United Service, the Army and Navy, the Athenæum, and the Travellers', besides various literary and scientific institutions, begged to enroll him an honorary member. Oxford University gave him an LL.D., together with a most enthusiastic reception, from the tumult of which the Raja would often steal away to find rest and refreshment in some undergraduate rooms, where long-known faces and familiar tones served to link the past with the strangely-glittering present.

This clinging to the past was strong, and, in consequence, the action taken now by his old school, very pleasant

to him. The *Norwich Mercury* of November 27, 1847, contained the following:—

"THE RAJA OF SARÁWAK.

"One of the most gratifying circumstances among the many which have honoured the visit of this distinguished gentleman to his native country has, perhaps, been the invitation he has received from John Longe, Esq., to visit again the scene of his boyhood . . . to meet and hold in friendly grasp the hands of those old Valpeians who recognize a school-fellow in the distinguished individual, the honoured of princes and of all who desire to see the image of their Maker lifted from ignorance and barbarism and led onward in the scale of civilization. Mr. John Longe, of Spixworth Park, himself an old Valpeian, having heard many gentlemen educated at the Norwich Free Grammar School, under the late Rev. E. Valpy, express a desire that they should meet together to revive the the warm feelings of boyhood and renew old friendships, thought that the presence of Mr. Brooke would afford the long-wished-for opportunity, under auspices which in all human probability will not occur again. It has been therefore determined by several Valpeians resident in Norwich and the neighbourhood that this long-desired meeting should take place at the Royal Hotel, on Friday, December 3rd ; an invitation to which Mr. Brooke, we understand, replies with a warmth that adds a double charm to the acceptance."

The dinner came off, and was a great success. It was then decided that old Norvicensians should meet annually under the name of the Valpeian Club, of which new institution the Raja was elected President. One hundred and fifty-five members enrolled themselves at the time. Death has since then brought this number down to about seventy, of whom the senior is upwards of eighty.

A copy of Grant's well-known portrait of the Raja now hangs in the dining-hall of his old school.

For a year or two before his return some of his friends had

been endeavouring to excite interest in the establishing of a Church of England mission in Saráwak. Chief among these were the late Earl of Ellesmere, and the Rev. Chas. Brereton; the latter is specially and warmly thanked by the Raja, in a letter to the Rev. F. C. Johnson, for exertions in the matter.

Towards the end of November, 1847, a large meeting was held in Hanover Square Rooms, the Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Sumner, presiding, at which the Raja spoke. The Dowager Queen Adelaide headed the subscription list with £50; others followed, and before the year closed the Rev. F. T. McDougall, with his wife and child, and the Rev. W. B. Wright, left England as missionaries to Saráwak. Mr. McDougall, before taking holy orders, had been Demonstrator of Anatomy at King's College Hospital, and there is abundant testimony to the kindly and generous use which in his new sphere he made of his medical training.

One more was to have accompanied these, the Rev. S. F. Montgomery, of Upper Gornal, Staffordshire; but, visiting among the sick poor of his parish, he caught fever and died; a missionary in a very true sense at home, and in will, though not in deed, abroad.

This is not the place to give a detailed account of the progress of the religious mission now established. The special fund raised, and called the Borneo Church Mission Fund, was in a few years expended, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel coming to the rescue, has since 1853 carried on the work. The published reports of this society give constant and authorized intelligence of the hopes and fears, the encouragements and the disappointments, of those who in connection with it have laboured in Saráwak.

As with material so with spiritual progress, a gradual advancement was desired by Raja Brooke. He sought to bring Christianity to his people because he deemed it the highest form of religion, and he invited the Church of England to be the channel because he believed her to be the most free, as he trusted she would prove the most patient and the most loving.

A letter dated February 18, 1850, may fitly be given here.

It is addressed to Captain Mundy, as a member of the committee of the Borneo Church of England Mission. At the time it was written Mrs. McDougall had been seriously ill.

"I forgot to mention Mrs. McDougall's dangerous state, and the fear I entertain that it may cause their retirement. Above all things, I beg you to save us from such a one as you say some of the committee desire to see at Saráwak. Zealots, and intolerants, and enthusiasts, with brains heated beyond the rational point, who preach in tubs, and display such-like foolery, and who begin the task of tuition by a torrent of abuse against what their pupils hold sacred, shall not come to Saráwak, or, if they come, I shall prevent the mischief they attempt at any cost. Whilst our endeavours to convert the nations are conducted with charity, and appeal for success to time, I am a warm supporter of the mission; but whenever there is a departure from the only visible means which God has placed at our disposal—namely, time, reason, patience—and the Christian faith is to be heralded in its introduction by disturbances, and heart-burnings, and bloodshed, I want it not; and you are quite at liberty to say, if that party gain an ascendency in your counsels, that, for the sake of peace and charity, and to avoid all the manifold evils which it is impossible to see the extent of, I would rather that the mission was withdrawn, and that I will not permit any mode of teaching any religion which is calculated to disturb the public peace, or to shock the prejudices of any particular sect. I will protect the missionary from the zeal and denunciations of the Mahommedan, and I will protect the Mahommedan from the zeal and the denunciations of the Christian, when either the one or the other threatens the well-being of the community. St. Paul preached and exhorted in season and out of season, but then he was all things to all men; he combined the wisdom of the serpent with the mildness of the dove, and you may be sure never rashly offended the prejudices of the heathen. His was the highest degree of zeal, regulated by the mightiest reason. Without the latter, the former quality would have been pernicious. If your

committee be rational beings, they will never inflict so great a curse upon a peaceful community as to let loose a fiery zealot upon it instead of a meek Christian man."

Christmas-tide and the beginning of 1848 were passed by the Raja at Cheltenham, Bath, Lackington, and wherever the oldest friends dwelt. He had determined to sail in February, allowing himself but four months at home; and therefore the time that could be given to each was very short. "At Bath," says Mr. Kegan Paul, "he could only give his old home circle, of which by lapse of time Mr. and Mrs. W. Keating were now the heads, a Sunday evening. There were certain scruples about a large dinner party of his old friends on Sunday, but all prejudices gave way and the party was at once large and cheerful. He sat by my mother the greater part of the evening, and it was her last meeting with one who had filled a very large share in her affection, as she died the following summer. I remember the genial and kindly way in which he broke through Mrs. Littlehales' scruples, and persuaded her, an old pupil of the famous Veluti, and a beautiful singer and pianist, to forget for an hour that it was Sunday, and give us other than hymn tunes. When once the ice was broken it did not seem that opera music sounded worse for the day on which it was sung."

With the close of 1847 Sir James Brooke had been appointed Governor of Labuan and Consul-General of Borneo, in addition to his former honorary appointment of Commissioner to the native States. Under directions from Lord Auckland, then head at the Admiralty, H.M.S. *Meander*, commanded by Captain Keppel, was fitted with boats peculiarly constructed for river work, and appointed to take him back to the East. Mr. Spenser St. John accompanied him as secretary, and Mr. W. Napier as Lieutenant-Governor of Labuan.

The contrast between this departure and that of 1838 is marked. Then a private gentleman, in his own small yacht, known to some, believed in by some, but to the country unknown—now the hero of the hour, his portrait in shop-windows, his name in all mouths, honoured by his Queen,

trusted by her Government, a future of endless possibilities before him. A farewell letter written, on a small half-sheet, and dated Cove of Cork, February 11, 1848, was sent back to Mr. Templer—

"We have taken refuge from a gale; but as the glass is going up and the weather moderating, we shall probably get out to-night. Charlie [Johnson] and Doddy [Charles Grant]* and young Karslake are with me ashore for the day, and we are going out riding. I have been in very high spirits, but in reality feeling great depression—it will pass away like any other cloud and like ourselves. My kind regards to your dear wife, and to all the party in Greenwich.

"Farewell, my dear friend, may every blessing be with you and yours! C. sends his love. D. and K. would, but are out buying sardines and cherry brandy."

"I cannot tell you how very comfortable and happy I have been since my arrival here," he wrote, June 13, from Government House, Singapore; "the quiet, the regular hours, and the warmth of this delicious climate, have quite restored me after the trial of my English campaign, and the suffering of the outward voyage—for suffering it really was. Much as I was honoured, and proud as I ought to be of my reception at home, yet there is nothing remarkably agreeable in the retrospect; it is fever and hurry—a delirium of excitement."

During his stay in England, his position appearing from the action of the Government to have become insured, he had withdrawn his objection to any of his family running the risks he had run himself, and it was decided that John Brooke Johnson, his sister Emma's eldest son, should join him, taking the surname of Brooke. After the Raja's departure, Captain Brooke Brooke, as he was known henceforward, obtained an appointment as aide-de-camp to his uncle, the idea being apparently that he might thereby avoid leaving the army. On hearing this the Raja wrote to Mrs. Johnson, June 11th:

* Mr. C. Grant, of Kilgraston, N.B., was at this time a midshipman in H.M.S. *Meander*. He subsequently left the navy and joined the Raja in Saráwak.

"At first I was not greatly pleased, nor vastly surprised at Brooke's appointment, because I thought it might look like taking advantage of the kindness of Ministers, pushing for an appointment, for which there is certainly no shadow of occasion or use, but it is satisfactory that no salary is attached to the aide-de-campship. It will give Brooke a fair opportunity of judging and choosing for himself his future mode of life; but it will never do to let him remain in the army should he once decide upon casting his lot with mine. At any time a war might oblige him, for honour's sake, to leave his duties at Saráwak, and for years I might not see him when I most required his assistance. He must ultimately decide on one or the other, and, as I said, he will have an excellent chance of judging whether he can be happy in devoting his life to the Government of Saráwak. He must not tumble between two stools, or two professions. I shall be delighted to welcome the dear fellow, and have him up, fine clothes and all, to Labuan, to live in a hovel and fare sumptuously every day, on rice and curry and curry and rice, and grilled fowls and salt fish. (July 4th.) All well, and preparing for a start in a few days. Anxiously looking out for Brooke. Dear mamma, how sad you will be; but never mind, keep good heart!"

The last sentence has reference not only to the departure to the East of the eldest son, but to what is a still greater change to most homes than the departure of sons—the marriage of a daughter; for Mary Anna Johnson was engaged to Mr. Gilbert Nicholetts, of the Bombay army, and was this year to return with him to India.

In the middle of June the schooner *Julia* reached Singapore from Saráwak, and took back the mission party, who had arrived, after a long and tedious voyage, and had been waiting for a month at Singapore. "I may tell you," wrote Sir James, June 16th, "that Saráwak is flourishing, and much increased; but I should be very glad to have Brooke there, for it would give stability and confidence, one of us being at the head of affairs, for no other person can supply the place of the legitimate ruler, and though legitimacy be

ever so much out of fashion in Europe, it still maintains its sway in Malaya. The missionaries arrived safe and well some little time ago, and on Tuesday next sail for Saráwak. I like them; and now, though so near the field of their labours, they continue rational and reasonable in their views. Heaven speed them!"

The *Meander* took him on to Saráwak.

"My return," he wrote, September 16th, "was triumphant, and the tokens of good-will and affection from the people most gratifying from being spontaneous. They not only came to sea to fetch me, but illuminated the town the night of my entrance in a very elegant and striking manner, and the shaking of hands and welcomes have been overpowering.

"My old enemy Makota has got into power in Bruné, from whence I must rout him out. I have already found him out in friendly communication with the pirates—a clear breach of treaty—and oppressing all the rivers. I am going, in these revolutionary times, to get up a league and covenant between all the good rivers of the coast, to the purpose that they will not pay revenue to nor obey the Government of Bruné until the Sultan and his advisers govern justly and adhere to the customs of the country, and until the Government gives protection from the pirates. I have plenty to do, and want, directly Labuan can stand by itself, to visit Sulu and form a treaty. I am afraid only that my motions will be crippled from want of a vessel; and indeed, in the position I am placed, a vessel entirely at my own disposal is very necessary for the proper management of the public service.

"*Brooke Johnson Brooke* found me the day before yesterday, and we shall, I think, be a happy party. Grant has left the navy, and become my private secretary."

This first return from England is a marked time in Saráwak history, a step in its nationality, for the Raja gave his people a flag. Mrs. McDougall, in a volume of letters to her little boy, published in 1854, gives an account of the day, which seems to place us as spectators. She says—

"The Saráwak flag is a red and purple cross out of Sir

James Brooke's armorial shield, on a yellow ground, yellow being the Royal colour of Borneo. It was given by the Raja to his people on his return from England in 1848, and I remember well what a grand occasion it was. H.M.S. *Meander* was at Saráwak at the time, and their band played 'God save the Queen,' as the flag was for the first time hoisted on the flag-staff before the Raja's house. All the English were assembled there, and a great crowd of natives, Malays and Dyaks, whom the Raja addressed in the Malay language, telling them that the flag which he had that day given them would, he hoped, be their glory and protection, as the flag of England had long been hers. He said that by the help of his native country, he would engage to clear the seas of the Archipelago of the pirates, who prevented their trading vessels from venturing along the coasts; and when this was accomplished he trusted to see Saráwak become a rich and thriving place, with all the blessings of peace, civilization, and religion. A great deal more than this, and much more to the purpose than I can remember, our Raja said that day to his people; for his heart was full of desires for their welfare, and hope and trust in the English Government to aid him in the accomplishment of his designs. The Malays listened with love and reverence to his words; and from my house across the river I could hear their acclamations. Since then the Saráwak flag flies, not only at the fort at the entrance of the town, but at the mast of many a vessel, laden with Borneon treasure, on all the coasts of the Archipelago."

The history of this flag is interesting:—

In 1845 the Raja made his first attempt to get permission from the British Government to quarter the Union-Jack on a flag for the country, but received no decided answer.

In 1846, when Lord John Russell had succeeded Sir Robert Peel, he applied to Viscount Palmerston and to Earl Grey, the new Ministers for Foreign and Colonial affairs, for a Government recognition of Saráwak by allowing a protectorate flag to be displayed in that country; to which Lord Grey

replied, through Mr. Hawes, his secretary, that "this is a question upon which it is necessary that Lord Grey should communicate with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs." And, November 14, 1846, Lord Palmerston wrote, through Mr. Stanley, that "this was a matter on which her Majesty's Government were not yet prepared to decide."

In September, 1848, her Majesty's Government being still in the same condition, the Raja hoisted the Saráwak flag, without, to his great regret, the Union-Jack quartered; and in the following March wrote to Lord Palmerston that he hoped that if sanctioned by the British Government the act would afford permanency to the country; to which Lord Palmerston replied (June 20, 1849) that her Majesty's Government approved of the proceeding.

Early in October, 1848, the first European Governor of Labuan took possession of this wild little island, and, from Government *Hut*, wrote to Mr. Johnson—

"I am this day, October 9, comfortably established in my residence, which consists of three small rooms—the largest about sixteen feet square. Brooke, and St. John, and Dr. Treacher inhabit a similar residence next door, and come over to mess here.

"I like this place, and I think if matters go well that it promises to be successful; but it is an arduous task beginning a new settlement in a jungle: everything is wanting, and the people who at a distance foresee no difficulty, are the first to cry out. The climate will prove good in the end; and at present there is nothing to complain of excepting a few cases of cold and ague, caused by the inclement rainy weather of the week past.

"My plans for the future are to visit Sulu, and form a treaty with the Sultan of that island, if I can get a vessel of war to carry me there."

The next letter is also from Labuan. We have no Journal now to fill up the intervals, and for fuller information of these years we must wait for Mr. Spenser St. John's promised book.

"*November 26th.*—Since leaving dear old Saráwak, which

is the pride and comfort of my heart, we have met with nothing but trials. The great trial is the decided unhealthiness of the place we are located on. Fever has struck us all: the greater number are miserable weak shadows; and the worst of it is, that no sooner does one recover than another is attacked, and so the wheel of anxiety and watching continually revolves.

"I am still low and debilitated, and slowly recovering, and I have nothing to complain of beyond the rest of them. There are many in my condition, and many likewise worse.

"You may fancy the depression among the Europeans, and the panic amongst the natives; and you may then judge how fatal it must have been to the progress of the settlement. Report, too, magnifies the evil a hundred-fold, and settlers and citizens will not adventure here whilst accounts are so bad; and our calculations have been upset and our work at a stop from the sickness of our work-people.

"You must bear in mind that we are located on a plain where there is considerable lodgment of fresh water, and from the miasma generated from this fresh-water swamp the fever probably arises. Drainage, no doubt, will remove this; but then, how are we to drain without labour? All things considered—and being convinced that the first thing necessary is to restore confidence and cheerfulness abroad and at home—I have resolved on moving from our present residences and locating ourselves afresh on the rising ground about a mile and a half from this plain.

"The barracks now building are about two miles from our flagstaff, and the carpenters, thirty in number, first resided on the plain and suffered from the prevailing fevers. I moved these men to the high ground close to their work and they directly recovered, and have since continued well and cheerful. Chinese, Klings, and Europeans have since been sent up to the barracks, many in a wretched condition, and the same result has ensued; now our houses are building, we ourselves shall, I trust, find the change as beneficial.

"With these hopes then we are living on, and as our

health is re-established, confidence will return, settlers pour in, and, our attention turned to draining, we shall soon restore affairs and retrieve the settlement from its present depression. Our barracks and the road to them will be completed in three months; by the beginning of April the troops will be established here, with every prospect of being healthy; and, as I said before, we shall advance, that is, if other causes do not keep us back.

"And this brings me to my second lament. I lament the weakness and inconsistency with which the measures of Government are carried out in detail. It is the curse of the time. It is the curse of loose talk in Parliament. It is the curse of our inefficient establishment, and of divided authority, that our intentions—Government intentions—are strong and the execution weak. More of this to-morrow; my eyes dance over the paper, my head is dizzy. Good-bye, Jack, for I sink from a sitting into a reclining posture.

"27*th*.—To continue. As long as there was only a flagstaff to take care of, a man-of-war was constantly stationed here to guard it, and the orders of the late commander-in-chief were that a relief of the vessel should take place every six weeks or two months, and that the vessels passing to and fro should keep open the communication with Saráwak. Now that there are the lives and properties of her Majesty's subjects, as well as the flagstaff, and property of the nation, this is no longer the case, and by some hocus-pocus, some hushing up of what I said, or was supposed to say, in a private conversation, we have been left without a vessel of war, and the party of seamen and marines have become beautifully less, until our whole effective force ashore amounts to six marines, and afloat, to nine seamen in the *Meander's* tender; and in this way we have been entirely at the mercy of the natives, either at Bruné or Sulu, who might choose to cut our throats. A steamer is now in sight, whether to stay or not is doubtful.

"Whether it will come to a blow-up, and whether I shall make an onslaught on the naval commander-in-chief is pro-

blematical. I do not personally care for the public service, nor would I retain it a day or an hour beyond the time that I could be useful. I will not be the tool of feeble measures, and I will only serve when the Government itself and the Government officers act up to their professions and intentions. I have received orders to visit the various parts of the Archipelago, and I apply in vain for a vessel to visit Sulu, whence complaints are made of the destruction of British property. The Government proposes to suppress piracy. I have information of piratical communities, and yet these inquiries cannot be made for want of a vessel!

"It is necessary to visit the various rivers to establish and encourage the good, to punish the evil doer, to develop the resources of these countries by personal inspection, to inspire confidence in the native mind, to afford security for property, to prevent the oppression of the poorer and productive classes; yet all this is not to be done for want of a vessel. Every other nation—the Spaniard of Manilla, and the Dutchman—can command a vessel to further and advance their political views; it is only the British in these seas who cannot afford a vessel for their diplomatic agents; the instructions of the British Government are alone amongst nations in this far quarter so much waste paper; and the safety of a British settlement, and the honour of a British flag, are entrusted to the guardianship of six marines and a few seamen!

"With Balambangan as an example, they go on in this insane manner; and, *entre nous*, what I know to be true is, that if this weak and imbecile execution of measures, good in themselves, is continued, it will be continued without me; for I have never felt myself so much degraded, or my safety and the safety of those about me so thoroughly compromised, as it has been. I am like a fool in a farce with fine clothes and fine names; but I am but a fool after all, and the character does not suit me."

A relapse of fever followed the writing of the above; and when, a few days later, being better, he read over what he had written, he added—"Do not pay too much regard to the

strong, the very strong expressions in the former part of this letter, written, as you know, under circumstances of irritation, weakness, and a sense of insecurity; and do not imagine that Keppel has any share in measures I disapprove. We must make the best of affairs, and I shall not continue an account of them till I get strong. Now, my dear Jack, fare thee well! Do not entertain any apprehensions about us, and do not let any public clamour make you doubt the soundness of the measures we are pursuing, if they be properly and vigorously carried out."

Our misfortunes at Balambangan, an island lying to the extreme north of Borneo alluded to in this letter, came about in this wise. A certain Raja of Bruné, in consideration of assistance received from a Sultan of Sulu, ceded part of his territory. After this, Sulu lost her capital to the Spaniards, who imprisoned the Sultan, and in prison he was found by our own people when in turn we took Manilla from the Spaniards. Setting him free, we promised to re-establish him in power if he would in return make over to England the province of Borneo he had received from its Raja. To this he gladly agreed, and it was done in 1763.

The Dutch of those days seem to have looked on the East Indian Archipelago as their preserve, into which other nations entering might reasonably be treated as poachers, and they did their best to get rid of us.

By their instigations (according to Forrest), the Sulus were roused to endeavour to recover what they had given up, and in 1775 they attacked our fort at Balambangan, defended chiefly by Bugis, and captured it with booty to the value of £375,000, our people escaping as best they could. No punishment following this act, the natives drew their own conclusions. The British bees had gathered the honey and the Sulus had eaten it; that was as it should be, said Sulu; and though they never found such a hive again they harried our traders till trade was extinct. Our *prestige* in Europe may not have been the worse for our having none at all in those waters; but a generation that has sanctioned the Abyssinian

and Ashantee expeditions, has sanctioned the principle for which Sir James Brooke contended.

In December he made his first visit in person to Sulu, passing on afterwards to Mindanau in the southern Philippines, one of the haunts of the Illanuns; and in February, 1849, was again in Saráwak, where troubles were brooding.

The arrangement made by Admiral Sir T. Cochrane, alluded to in the last letter, had been altered by his successor, and the *Meander*, purposely fitted up for pirate hunting, was sent to China, leaving only the *Nemesis* steamer for use. This being the case, the Sarebus tribes seized the opportunity, and within two months had killed three hundred natives, burning their villages, and capturing numerous prahus; and (March 2nd, news reached the Raja at Kuching that one hundred of their prahus had put to sea, captured six or seven boats, killing the crews, and had then entered Sadong River, and destroyed upwards of one hundred men, women, and children. "Directly *Nemesis* returns," he wrote, "I shall go out just to check this audacity; but we have not the force to crush the stronghold of these wasps, and their murders and piracies will go on until we can get one.

"We must carry on a peddling war, in which we shall be harassed to death, run considerable risk, and with a certainty of paltry results.

"*March 6th.*—I close this letter as hastily as I write it. I have remonstrated strongly at home on the Admiral's withdrawal of all naval force from these seas.

"How often, dear Jack, I think of the days gone by, when we used to be so much together! If I advantaged you, when young, how much happiness, and comfort, and advantage did you afford me! God bless thee! The day after to-morrow I leave with my prahus, and put to sea next day: it must be done to protect the natives."

On the arrival of the *Nemesis* an expedition sailed up the Kaluka River, to stop these depredations, towards the end of March. Of the doings there, an anonymous account inserted in a Singapore paper, *The Straits Times*, was quoted

in the *Daily News* of June 25th, and was there read by Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P. for Montrose. The Singapore paper in inserting it asked, "whether it was creditable to our naval forces, to aid or take part in cruel butcheries, and brutal murders of the helpless and defenceless." The authorship of the account was denied by every European gentleman concerned in the attack, or resident in Saráwak. Its nature may be gathered from the Raja's comments in his letter to Mr. Templer, given in the next chapter.

To return. April 11, 1849, he wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Nicholetts—

"It is a great satisfaction, amid some perplexities and vexations incident to these hard times, to learn that you are both so happy and so well. I should very much like to see you, and the Arabs, and the six or eight curs which I am sure are yelping about your bungalow.

"So you like Belgaum—that is good, but where Belgaum is I know not; whether it is an island or on the continent, near Elephanta or the Indus, inland or on the sea coast, is wrapt in obscurity which my geographical knowledge cannot clear up. Tell me all about it, for as you like the place I am inclined to like it too. Perhaps some day I shall come to see you; if not, you must come here, as I dare say you could get leave after two years' service. I wish Gilbert to gain as much glory as he can, but it must be with the smallest degree of risk, and these Sikh battles are far too deadly and dangerous to wish one's relations in them. Of course the Bombay army is the finest in the world, and of course your regiment is the finest regiment of the finest army. What is the number of the regiment?

"I hope your pecuniary matters go on well. Do not pray be extravagant! I see Mary sitting down with a demure face after breakfast, to take the Bazaar accounts—eggs, one anna; leg of mutton, six annas; vegetables, two annas; milk half an anna, etc., etc; rice for the dogs, and the like, grain for horses. Do pray tell me about your *ménage*. And if in the midst of your joys and gaieties, sorrow or annoyance

should intrude, you must tell me of that too. I never like being left in the dark. Farewell. I leave Brooke to tell you our news and recent proceedings."

In a later letter (January 1850, but given here because it is in the same strain), he says—"Tell me if anything goes wrong, from the death of a favourite puppy to the death of a thoroughbred Arabian—it all interests me. Did Brooke send you the pin and scarf I got from Manilla for you? It was very beautiful in my eyes, though I have no eyes for ladies' finery. Write to me often and tell me all about everything. I could tell you a great deal of my new house that is to be—my stud that is—Rufus the chestnut, and Baby the Arab, and my cows and my buffaloes, and my cavalry horse at Saráwak, where I mean to have an immense herd of cattle some day. This will all keep, however, and I am much pushed for time."

A letter to Major Stuart, dated H.C.S. *Nemesis*, May 17, 1849, will carry on the public life—

"We have now struggled, I trust, through our first difficulties, and shown practically that Labuan is not a bad climate, though a small portion was so from want of drainage. Drainage is now in progress, and the higher ground on which we are located has as yet proved so healthy that a detachment of nearly one hundred men, after being in the barracks for four months, returned to Singapore without the loss of a single life, and without experiencing any sickness. Not having been discouraged under sickness, we must not now be too sanguine, for there may be periods or seasons—the change of the monsoon, for instance—when sickness may return; but as our works progress it will grow less and less, till it vanishes as at Singapore, or at Saráwak. It was fortunate that I wrote fully and explicitly on this subject, for such statements had been made, by persons incapable of forming a just judgment, and such exaggerated reports spread, that much uneasiness was felt in high quarters.

"I am now on my way to Sulu,* to form a treaty with the Sultan, and to counteract the consequences of an intended

* This was his second visit.

aggression of that Government, if I cannot prevent the aggression itself. I fear the Sulus are too full of fight to attend to my advice, so I can only assist them after their defeat. Some vigorous measures and a decidedly stern tone in our policy have become necessary. To-morrow we reach Labuan, where I stay only three days. We are all quite well. Brooke left in charge of Saráwak. Directly after my return I trust soon to act against the Sarebus and Sakarran pirates."

This he was enabled to do in July, when, moved either by orders from home or by the Raja's remonstrances direct, Admiral Collyer sent H.M.S. *Albatross*, commanded by Captain Farquhar, with H.M.'s sloop *Royalist*, to Saráwak; and with these and the *Nemesis*, Captain Wallage, the Saráwak prahus joined. Mrs. McDougall describes the departure of the expedition—

"There was the *Lion King*, the *Royal Eagle*, the *Tiger*, the *Big Snake*, the *Little Snake*, the *Frog*, the *Alligator*, and many others (war boats) belonging to the Datus, who, on occasions like these, are bound to call on their servants and a certain number of able-bodied men to man and fight their boats, as their service to Government instead of taxes. The Raja supplies the whole force with rice and a certain number of muskets. The English ships were left behind, the *Albatross* at Saráwak, and the *Royalist* to guard the entrance of the Batang Lupar River; but their boats and nearly all the officers accompanied the fleet, and the *Nemesis* went also. On the 24th of July they left us, as many as eighteen Malay prahus, manned by from twenty to seventy men in a boat, and decorated with flags and streamers innumerable of the brightest colours, the Saráwak flag always at the stern. For the *Tiger* I made a flag, with a tiger's head painted on it, looking wonderfully ferocious. It was an exciting time, with gongs and drums, Malay yells and English hurrahs; and our fervent prayers for their safety and success accompanied them that night, as they dropped down the river in gay procession. They were afterwards joined by bangkongs (war boats) of

friendly Dyaks, 300 men from Lundu, 800 from Linga, some from Samarahan, Sadong, and various places which had suffered from the pirates, and were anxious to assist in giving them a lesson. We heard nothing of the fleet until the 2nd of August, when I received a little note from the Raja, written in pencil, on a scrap of paper, on the night of the 31st July, and giving us an account of how they fell in with a great *balla* (war fleet) of Sarebus and Sakarran pirates, consisting of 150 bangkongs, and caught them returning to their homes, with plunder and captives in their boats. The pirates found all the entrances to the river occupied by their enemies—the English, Malay, and Dyak forces being placed in three detachments, and the *Nemesis* all ready to help whenever the attack should begin. The *Singa Raja* (boat) sent up a rocket when she espied the pirate fleet, to apprise the rest of their approach. Then there was a dead silence, broken only by three strokes of a gong, which called the pirates to a council of war. A few minutes afterwards a fearful yell gave notice of their advance, and the fleet approached in two divisions. But when they sighted the steamer they became aware of the odds against them, and again called a council by beat of gong. After another pause, a second yell of defiance showed that they had decided on giving battle.

"Then, in the dead of night, ensued a fearful scene. The pirates fought bravely, but could not withstand the superior forces of their enemies. Their boats were upset by the paddles of the steamer; they were hemmed in on every side, and 500 men were killed sword in hand, while 2500 escaped to the jungle. The boats were broken to pieces, or deserted on the beach by their crews, and the moonlight showed a sad spectacle of ruin and defeat. Upwards of 80 prahus and bangkongs were captured, many from sixty to eighty feet long, with nine or ten feet of beam.

"The English officers on that night offered prizes to all who should bring in captives alive. But the pirates would take no quarter; in the water they still fought without surrender, for they could not understand a mercy which they

never extended to their enemies. Consequently, the prisoners were very few, and the darkness of the night favoured their escape to the jungle.

"The peninsula to which they had escaped could easily have been so surrounded by the Dyak and Malay forces, that not one man of that pirate fleet could have left it alive. This blockade the Malays entreated the Raja to make; but he refused, saying that he hoped they had already received a sufficiently severe lesson, and would return to their homes humbled and corrected."

Mrs. McDougall adds that some years afterwards her husband came across a Sakarran Dyak, who told him that he had led a detachment of the pirate boats that night, with the intention of boarding the *Nemesis*. "We thought it was a long gun boat we saw on the water, and had she not been a steamer, and overturned us with her paddles, we should have taken her in five minutes, and had every head on board."

On the return to Kuching, August 24th, the Raja begged Mrs. McDougall to take charge for him, of six Dyak women, hostages, and to shew them how Christian people treated their prisoners of war. Clothes, food, and every comfort were liberally provided. It was more than the captives could understand, but it was very pleasant; when, however, their kind friend tried to persuade them to let the little girls they had brought with them come to her school, it was another matter, and in spite of a lure held out of tempting garments for the first scholar, they made their way to the Raja, entreating that the English lady might never have their children, and, to their great loss, she never did. These women, on the final submission of their people, were sent back laden with presents, except one, who married a Chinaman and remained of her own accord.

Of one other little captive of this expedition Mrs. McDougall speaks, a Dyak boy of eight, whose father had been killed. For several days he seemed very happy with the Raja, to whom he had been brought, and then he told him

confidently that he knew a place where certain valuable jars belonging to his tribe were hidden, and that if he were sent there with a party of Malays he could point out the place. "The Raja believed the child, the jars were found, and taken on board the boat; then the boy again went to the Raja, and bursting into tears, he said, "I have given you the riches of my tribe, and now in return, give me my liberty, set me down in a path I will shew you in the jungle, give me some food, and in two days I shall reach my home and find my mother." The Raja answered, "My poor child, I would willingly do as you ask me, but I fear you will be lost in the jungle, and will die before you reach your home; for how can such a child as you know the way?" However the boy persisted, and the Raja gave him whatever he wished for—a china cup, a glass tumbler, a gay sarong, and some food, and the little fellow set off, on the jungle path, with his bundle on his back, joyful enough; and, as we afterwards heard, rejoined his mother and friends in safety."

In the autumn of this year, Saráwak being as quiet and prosperous as possible, Brooke had also the pleasure of reaping other fruits of the July action. All the Sarebus and Sakarran tribes had been cowed, but now two of them, Kanowit and Kompang, separated themselves and sent messengers to Saráwak with assurances of not pirating again. These tribes acknowledged no rule beyond their own chiefs, for, though nominally under Brunéi, they had for fifty years refused allegiance. At their request the Raja now sent a small party, under Mr. Arthur Crookshank, to superintend the erection of a fort at the mouth of Sakarran River. This done and muskets and ammunition provided, Mr. Crookshank withdrew, leaving the fort manned by Sakarrans, under a leader of their own choosing, named Sheriff Hassim. With Sheriff Hassim, however, they did not agree, and more messengers came to Kuching to say that he was unjust, and they would like to have some one else. Thus appealed to, Sir James Brooke investigated matters, and, finding that they had cause for complaint, agreed to a fresh selection, when they said that

if he would choose for them a good Englishman they would all prefer him to a native.

"At their request, therefore," wrote Brooke, "I chose Brereton to rule over these people, and I trust to God he will do it well; though young, I have confidence in him, and know that he has many qualities suited to the task."

This was the Brereton who, as a midshipman, had been specially befriended because he was young and delicate, and had lost all his possessions in the *Samarang*. He was the son of the Rev. C. Brereton, already mentioned. That overturn in Saráwak River perhaps decided the boy's fate. Leaving the Royal Navy a few years later, he threw in his lot with Sir J. Brooke. Until that year the Raja had discouraged any from following him, because of the extreme uncertainty of his own tenure, and only those who could not be worse off where they were, and who thought they might possibly be better in Saráwak, were welcomed. But after the public recognition at home, circumstances seemed so far altered that men might come without the same probability of their regretting it, and, as we have seen, Captain Brooke joined, followed four years later by his brother Charles. Later still, Mr. Cruickshank dying, his third son, James Brooke Cruickshank, came out at the invitation of his godfather, his father's old friend. And thus there gathered one by one a brotherhood that caught its inspiration from its leader, and bore with hard work, constant exposure to a trying climate, great and long-continued isolation, discomforts innumerable, and a pay which, never high, fluctuated with the fortunes of the country. Of this brotherhood no report reaches England, for no body of men has any special interest in reporting. Something of the nature of their work will appear in these pages, where also it may be seen that, for the most part, Brooke's men gave up their posts only with life. Not losing their nationality, European officers of the Saráwak Government were and are content to spend their best years in a service that will bring them no wealth, no public applause, no acknowledgment of any sort or kind in England, nothing that this side the water we sometimes deem

worth the winning. They themselves know best what their gain may be. Perhaps they will tell us that there is pleasure to be found in escape from the petty meannesses and falsities that encrust our civilization, and more than pleasure in faculties developed, in power and influence wielded for good and producing tangible results, in carrying out in virgin soil the principles of a great master, and in winning hearts as Brooke won them.

END OF VOL. I.

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